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ABSTRACT

This report deals with the causes and consequences of alienation as they relate to educational institutions. Recommendations to combat the causes and ameliorate the consequences are offered. The causes of alienation are linked to academic failure, disruption of the relations between school and the community-family support systems, and characteristics of the schools themselves which militate against participation in roles of responsibility. Alienated students are more prone to juvenile delinquency, to academic failure, to aimlessness and social disruption. Drug abuse is also linked to alienation. In order to relieve the causes and deal with the consequences, measures are proposed which are designed to spin webs of social relationships within and around the schools. Programs to increase community support for an identification with school activities are recommended. Measures designed to reduce depersonalization within the schools are offered. Steps to be taken to integrate school and community in day-to-day patterns of interaction are suggested. All these programs are based on the principle that education must be defined in terms of the social development of the student--the nurturance of identity, of character. (Author/PC)

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ALIENATION AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Final Report

to the

NEW YORK STATE ASSEMBLY SCIENTIFIC STAFF

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
[illegible]

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April 1973

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Abstract:

The report deals with the causes and consequences of alienation as they relate to educational institutions. Recommendations to combat the causes and ameliorate the consequences are offered.

The causes of alienation are linked to academic failure, disruption of the relations between school and the community-family support systems, and characteristics of the schools themselves which militate against participation in roles of responsibility. Students bring to school with them the alienation which afflicts the rest of society in ever more serious proportions. The ties that bind the society together -- family, community, political organization, etc. -- have been weakened during recent decades and the students in the schools reflect this growing dissociation and estrangement. The schools themselves are estranged and isolated from the day-to-day life of the communities they serve. Particularly among lower socio-economic groups, the relations between school and community are strained. Within the schools, increasing enrollments have resulted in depersonalization and isolation from positions of responsibility which accentuate the alienation derived from the larger social system.

These forces conspire to produce alienation which has serious consequences for the individual and the society. Alientated students are more prone to juvenile delinquency, to academic failure, to aimlessness and social disruption. Drug abuse is linked to alienation. These consequences place extreme stress on the schools and upon the families and communities from which students come and to which they return.

In order to relieve the causes and deal with the consequences measures are proposed which are designed to spin webs of social relationship within and

around the schools. Programs to increase community support for an identification with school activities are recommended. Measures designed to reduce depersonalization within the schools are offered. Steps to be taken to integrate school and community in day-to-day patterns of interaction are suggested. All these programs are based on the principle that education must be defined in terms of the social development of the student; the nurturance of identify, of character. Without such attention to social development, efforts aimed at purely academic and cognitive development are seriously impeded and the process of alienation continues. "Social identity" is a necessary precondition for the motivation to sustain academic activities and a bulwark against social distruption and individual dissolution.

Alienation and Educational Institutions

Summary

Alienation is fundamentally a condition of estrangement, a sense of not belonging. It may be accompanied by feelings of resentment, of hostility, of powerlessness and of generalized opposition to social agents and institutions -- such as school, family, authority figures, the community, government and society in general. These feelings may be associated with behavior patterns which are socially disruptive and/or individually destructive.

Alienation may be seen as arising from two sets of processes; in two modes. The first of these modes is a condition in which a person "simply" does not become attached to and psychologically a part of social settings, institutions, groups, etc. That is, because of inadequate social interaction an individual does not develop a sense of identification with significant social entities and is thus alienated or estranged from those entities. The second mode involves the "defensive" severing of ties to social entities. That is, if an individual finds himself in an enduring situation in which there is an intense conflict between his self image or sense of personal worth, on the one hand, and the social setting, on the other, the individual may resolve this cognitively dissonant condition by severing his sense of belonging to that setting. He may further engage in hostile behavior directed at the institution, groups or individuals associated with that setting to reinforce his estrangment.

Educational institutions are related to alienation in three ways. First, educational institutions may, through their structure or policies, contribute directly to alienation -- i.e., be a "cause" of alienation. Second, educational institutions may be affected by forces on the "outside" which cause

alienation. Thus, educational institutions have to deal with alienation in the society which students "bring to school" with them. Third, educational institutions may act as agents for social cohesion to combat alienation in the surrounding community and society as a whole.

There is evidence indicating that alienation associated with the educational institutions in the State is a growing problem. Vandalism and drug abuse are on the rise. Surveys indicate that teachers and students have very different views of the "social reality" of the school setting. For example, while 52°/o of students rated school morale as "negative," 64°/o of the teachers rated it "positive" on the same scale. A recent report by the Commission on Campus Unrest estimates that at present, fifty percent of the high school students will either drop out physically or remain in school as mental dropouts. Other evidence indicates a strong relation between difficulty in school and juvenile delinquency.

Academic failure is seen as a major factor in alienation. The student who fails must in some way resolve the conflict between the school's negative evaluation of him and his own need for a positive self-image, for a sense of self worth. To resolve this conflict the student may detach himself from the school, i.e., become alienated. Anti-social behavior aimed at the school may be engaged in to reinforce the estrangement and gain a measure of revenge. Academic failure is aggravated by alienation arising from other sources -- e.g., discrepancy between the "academic culture" of the school and the student's ethnic and family identification.

The relation of school to community is seen as another important factor in the development of alienation. It appears that social interaction among children and adults has deteriorated in recent decades. Research indicates that the society as a whole is increasingly "age segregated." Children do not have adequate interaction with persons of different ages -- particularly adults in the "world

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of work." Such lack of intergenerational interaction leads to alienation of children and adolescents from adults. When such patterns of interaction do not arise "naturally," the educational activities of the school are made more difficult because of the resulting alienation. It may therefore be necessary to engineer such interaction to promote social identity and forestall alienation. Furthermore, in order to prevent alienation as a "defensive" mechanism it is necessary to forestall conflicts in which the child's ethnic, religious or racial heritage is placed in direct opposition to the school. That is, if the child finds severe and irreconcilable conflict between the heritage of his community and the demands of the school there is likely to be estrangement from one or both forces. Thus, in order to forestall the rise of alienation it is necessary that the school have an explicit responsibility for the "social development" of the child and that the school and community exercise mutual support and respect of each other. The "academic and intellectual" functions of the school are dependent upon a supportive "social climate." If the latter is not maintained the former cannot be expected to operate.

It has been noted by a number of commentators that American notions of education are narrow and limited in that they tend to neglect "social development" and focus almost exclusively on subject matter and cognitive development. In light of the need to maintain a supportive social climate and a sense of individual motivation, it is important that the society's definition of the purposes of education reflect a concern with school-community relations and the social development -- one might say character education -- of individuals associated with educational institutions.

It has been demonstrated that characteristics of group structure affect individual behavior and psychological processes. As alienation is seen as arising from inadequate experience with important social contexts, the effects

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of "school size" are of interest because such effects have a bearing on the kinds of social experience available to students. This analysis is based on the principles of "ecological psychology", which sees aspects of the day-to-day structure of experience as being of critical importance to long term social development. An ecological analysis of high school size focuses on the extent to which students have access to and are encouraged to participate in roles promoting the development of leadership, responsibility, a sense of belonging and a sense of competence. To the extent to which characteristics of the social structure of educational institutions inhibit the development of such a psycho-social bulwark against alienation such charactertistics are a "cause" of alienation. Evidence indicates that as school size increases the extent to which students have access to roles promoting social identity, competence and responsibility decline. Large schools are associated with higher dropout rates. Academically marginal students -- the group most prone to dropping out -- are particularly hurt by large school size. Where there are few students all students are needed to undertake the basic activities of the school and there is little discrimination against the "academically marginal." Where there are many students a smaller percentage can fully participate. Such restrictions on participation aggravate alienation where it exists already -- as in the case of the academically marginal -- and "cause" it where it does not arise from other conditions. One review of the evidence concludes that the optimal high school size is between 700 and 1000 students. An analysis of New York State schools indicates that 41°/o of the schools enrolling eleventh grade students are larger than the "optimal" limit of 1000. Approximately 75°/o of the total number of students are thus in overly large high schools.

New York City is plagued with the most severe and pervasive alienation. In a sense alienation is "overdetermined" in New York City -- i.e., a number of causes conspire to produce alienation. Socioeconomic characteristics of students are found to be associated with academic failure. New York City has the highest proportion of students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. New York City has the largest high schools. School-community symptoms of alienation -- e.g., violence and drug abuse -- are worst in the New York City area.

The problem is that the "web of social relationships within and around the school and students" has in some cases been rent by social disruption and in others simply not spun at all. Recommendations designed to promote social identity and combat alienation and its symptoms must focus on enmeshing and imbedding the student and the school in the social life of the community. Such involvement provides the basis for both social identity and competence; the individual is both motivated to belong and is aided in obtaining the skills and characteristics needed for membership in the school, the community and the society.

Drug abuse and delinquency are associated with alienation. To solve these two allied problems it is necessary to establish a sense of social identity. Educational programs are prevented from succeeding because the audience to whom they are directed is alienated and therefore is not listening. The social reality must be altered before the anti-drug rationale will have its desired effects. If reality is experienced as a "down" it cannot and will not compete with a drug-induced "high."

Recommendations:

Academic failure: Programs which enhance the development of the "academic culture" are one major feature of any effort to overcome academic failure. Such programs include facilitation of parent-child interaction and the development of family and community support for education and educational institutions. Once motivation and resources to develop the "academic culture" are generated the major "cause" of academic failure will be removed and as a result alienation will diminish.

School-Community Relations: Children and adults must be enmeshed in enduring patterns of reciprocal interaction in important social settings. To this end adult work groups should be encouraged to "adopt" childrens' groups. Such encouragement can include action by governmental agencies to act as models -- i.e., government units adopting childrens' groups to provide a good example for private work units in business and industry. In addition, tax incentives could be offered to encourage private work groups to undertake children's group adoptions. The elderly should be involved in programs serving children and youth. Such participation would benefit both students and elder citizens. The school should be the center of social and family services. By operating the school as a "family and neighborhood center" the ties between childrens' lives as students and as family and community members would be strengthened. Establishment of governmental agencies charged with comprehensive responsibility for children and families -- and tied to educational institutions -- would further the overall enhancement of school-community relations as well as the advancement of the school as a neighborhood center. Community and neighborhood planning by governmental agencies and private agencies under government supervision should stress development of close school-community relations as a matter of high priority. This ecological approach to community and school planning would attempt to arrange the social environment to bring children and adults into contact with each other in the necessary enduring patterns of interaction.

School Size: Fiscal and policy support should be given to achieving high schools within the 700-1000 student limits found by research to maximize the psycho-social development of students without incurring excessive costs. Particularly in areas of high concentration of academically marginal students high schools should be small as a matter of policy and necessity. This policy may be

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altered in the case of special interest high schools where there is some compelling reason for largeness, and the special interest itself may provide a basis for social identity and participation not normally present.

Vocational program development: Competence in non-collegiate vocations should be supported -- by word and deed. Support should be given to programs aimed at developing enhanced opportunites and dignity for non-collegiate training and work. Such programs will help to reduce alienation by providing opportunities for students to develop and exercise competence, and social support for so doing.

The Purposes of Education: Explicit declaration of a commitment to the "social development" of students by educational institutions should be made. Such declaration of the purposes of education would aid in gaining support for other recommendations aimed at combatting alienation.

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I. Introduction: Purposes and Format of the Report

The purposes of this report are the following:

1. To discuss the meaning of alienation in terms which are comprehensible and useful for persons charged with task of formulating policy for educational institutions in the State;
2. To discuss the origins of alienation in the structure of day-to-day experiences of children, adolescents and adults in the State;
3. To discuss the relation of alienation to educational institutions in the State:
    a. the ways in which alienation in the society affects educational institutions,
    b. the ways in which educational institutions may contribute to alienation,
    c. the ways in which educational institutions may combat alienation,
4. To pinpoint several particularly critical areas in which the relation between alienation and educational institutions is strong;
5. To offer a series of recommendations aimed at reducing alienation as a function of educational institutions in the State.

The report is organized according to the following guideline: Exposition of the principles, evidence, and conclusions are connected to appendices and original sources for detailed presentations of the research and other materials underlying the report's presentation. In this way the report seeks to be informative without being burdensome to the reader. Where conclusions seem in need of more detailed explanation and/or support, it is intended that the appendices supply such information.

The report is based on the following sources of information:

1. Recently completed publications of two New York State commissions: The Temporary Commission to Study the Causes of Campus Unrest (The Henderson Commission) and the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education (The Fleischmann Commission);

2. Data compiled by the State Education Data Systems Department, New York State Education Department, Albany, New York;

3. Review of empirical studies bearing on the origins and dynamics of alienation.

II. Alienation:

A. Alienation as a Concept

B. Origins

C. In the Schools

A. Alienation as a Concept

Alienation is fundamentally a condition of estrangement, a sense of not-belonging. It may be accompanied by feelings of resentment, of hostility, of powerlessness and of generalized opposition to social agents and institutions -- such as school, family, authority figures, the community, government and society in general. As such it is the antithesis of identification, integration, association and affiliation. Our task is to state these concepts in a form amenable to rigorous scientific investigation -- i.e., to formulate hypotheses which may be empirically tested.

One of the most difficult and critical issues in this area is the relation of estrangement from social agents and institutions to estrangement from "self." We may define "self" operationally to be one's consciousness of one's relation to the world, one's self-image, ideals, values and cultural and ancestral heritage. It is clear that to be identified with and integrated into a particular social order may necessitate estrangement from self -- as, perhaps, in the case of the patriotic and loyal German citizen dwelling under the Nazi regime in the 1930's. On the other hand, to be estranged from the dominant features of society is not necessarily to be estranged from all social association -- as in the case of the member of the deviant sub-group such as the street gang. Finally, to be at one with one's self and one's ideals may lead to estrangement from social settings inconsistent with that self-concept and those ideals -- as, for example, in the case of the patriotic pacifist who must resist political authority in service to his convictions.

Alienation from self has been most fully treated by philosophers and cultural analysts and is not the primary focus of the present discussion. Rather, our concern is with the more social-psychological forms of alienation which may be contrasted with "social identity." Our interest, then, is with the processess of socialization as they relate to the development of social identity, that is,

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the way that the individual becomes a member of the human social groups with which he is associated by virtue of geographic location, ancestry and social convention.

While our interests lie predominantly with empirical evidence, it may prove of assistance to briefly consider several major theoretical formulations of the causes, characteristics and consequences of alienation. Such a theoretical review may assist us in orienting our attention to potentially important processes and research questions.

In this regard, we have relied heavily upon a treatment of several major theorists of alienation presented by Besag (1966) in a monograph aimed at empirically investigating several major hypotheses concerning the origins of Marx and Engels, Durkheim, Merton, Fromm and Seeman, and our treatment will parallel and draw heavily on those discussions.

1. Marx and Engels:

In the Marx-Engels view, alienation is the product of social and cultural patterns which exploit human beings in service to economic hierarchies. These economic hierarchies originate in the division of labor and the private ownership of the "means of production." By virtue of this concentration of economic resources in the hands of an elite, the worker becomes estranged from the products of his labor. That is, because he does not own the fruits of his labor the worker is cut off from the most direct manifestation of his value as a human being. He, in effect, has to sell himself -- or rather, his labor -- to another human and by virtue of this sale he detaches from himself what is most characteristically and humanly his. As a consequence of this economic pattern of estrangement the worker loses his personal and social identity. Because his labor is controlled by and for others he himself feels controlled and manipulated by persons and forces beyond his control.

The exploitation of the worker finds expression in all facets of the social, institutional and cultural life of the community. Those who control the means of production mold the social and cultural institutions to conform to their own interests -- which are focused on the maintenance of the dominant form of economic organization and structure. Thus, the worker is alienated not only from his labor, but also from the entire cultural and social life of the community. The Marx-Engels view is thus a comprehensive analysis of all forms of social and cultural alienation -- as well as personal estrangement. As time passes the control of económic resources comes increasingly to be in the hands of a smaller and smaller elite until such time as nearly all members of the community are similarly alienated.

In the Marx-Engels view, the only remedy for this pattern of progressively more pervasive alienation is a radical restructuring of the patterns of economic

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life of the community. This radical restructuring is aimed at restoring the labor of each individual to the control of that individual. This is to be done by abolishing private ownership of the means of production and substituting in its place a system in which a person receives the worth of his labor and controls the use of that labor. As a result of this restoration the social and cultural manifestations of alienation will disappear as their primary cause -- the estrangement of the worker from his labor -- is eliminated.

2. Durkheim:

Durkheim's view of alienation is directly related to his conception of anomic suicide -- i.e., the feeling that there is no reason to go on living because of the deterioration of social norms, values and institutions. Durkheim's view is predicated upon a view of society as organized around a collective unconsciousness which produces a social solidarity binding individuals together and giving life meaning and coherence. Because of socio-economic development -- increase in the division of labor -- the collective unconsciousness begins to break down and individual morality becomes increasingly the dominant pattern of social behavior. In Durkheim's view alienation is the lack of norms held in common by members of the community or the feeling that society's norms are irrelevant to one's own life. What holds society together once the primal collective unconsciousness has broken down and individual morality has taken its place is "organic solidarity" -- i.e., the society is bound together by the network of relationships associated with work and social interaction.

Durkheim suggests two factors as critical for the maintenance of social stability in periods of social disequilibrium when there is little in the way of collective norms and integrative organic solidarity. These factors are the existence of understandable limits to individual desires and the feeling among the individual members of the community that activities and efforts are not in vain; that society is to some extent responsive. Thus a society founded upon unlimited and insatiable individual desires and/or unresponsive institutions is likely to be an unstable society, one in which alienation is pervasive. Because, however, most people do become integrated into the organic solidarity and accept the limitations associated with social norms, ordinarily alienation is limited to a relatively small proportion of the population. The critical process acting to counter the spread of alienation is, in Durkheim's view, networks of social interaction -- among individuals and groups. Such interaction reduces stress and provides a pattern of relationships to deal with such stress as does develop. Thus organic solidarity is maintained, the individuals are integrated into the community and alienation is minimized. A breakdown in the networks of interaction leads to social disequilibrium, to deterioration of norms and ultimately to pervasive alienation. Promotion of such interactional networks is presumably the appropriate tactic for countering the rise of alienation among a community's members.

3. Merton:

Merton's concern is with determination of the operational parameters of alienation -- i.e., with analyzing alienation as a social phenomenon in behavioral terms. He juxtaposes social goals with the structures and means deemed socially acceptable for pursuing and achieving those goals. Alienation is thus defined as a situation in which the individual is in a state of conflict with social goals or when the goals are acceptable but the individual does not have access to conventional means for the pursuit of those goals. It is, therefore, a form of deviance with respect either to social goals or socially sanctioned means.

Social patterns -- of, for example, child rearing or institutional structure -- which either turn the individual against social goals or deny him access to conventional means are alienating. By either depriving the individual of or neglecting to foster social goals and/or means for pursuing those goals institutions and social agents foster alienation. Thus, either a deliberate withdrawal, rejection, or opposition to social purposes, on the one hand, or a rejection of the conventional rules and procedures "of the game" in favor of an amoral, "end justifies the means" approach to social goals is associated with alienation. The proper role of society, then, is to foster allegiance to social goals and hold in check the self-interested behavior of individuals by maintaining a system of socially sanctioned means to social ends.

The emphasis is on behavioral patterns in important settings -- particularly family, school and workplace -- which reinforce and model socially responsible behavior. The individual adapts to the behavior pattern modeled and reinforced in these settings -- through conformity, adaptive innovation, ritualism, retreatism or rebellion -- if the behavior pattern does not foster social goals and adherence to socially sanctioned means. Thus all these forms of adaptation are reflective of defective socialization by the institutions and social agents in question. The counterweights to alienation are: 1) realistic social goals; 2) pro-social patterns of socialization by institutions and social agents; 3) development of socially sanctioned competence to integrate persons into the social system by offering them acceptable means for achieving social goals. Thus the actual structure and behavioral patterns of institutions and social agents -- e.g., schools -- should be geared to fostering pro-social goals and means among their participants.

4. Fromm

Fromm's analysis is oriented toward the dilemma of the individual in contemporary social systems dominated by the "market system." Under this system human worth is judged in terms of economic success or failure. The ability of the individual to sell himself or his goods for financial gain is the yardstick of success. In this setting the integrity of the individual self and the dominant organization of society are inevitably at odds with one another. Thus, the individual must either be alienated from himself -- through his allegiance to a dehumanizing society -- or alienated from society -- through allegiance to standards of value transcending the materialism of the society and focusing on a more humanistic ethic. Fromm views the market system as evidence of the "sick society" and therefore views the resultant alienation of the individual from self and/or society as a pattern of estrangement inherent in the social structure produced by a system of dehumanization. Because the market system is the dominant feature its effects reach throughout the social and cultural life of the population.

Preference for immediate gratification and the alienation from work result in a pattern of hedonistic consumption of material goods and a generalized increase in laziness. Escape from work -- which is synonomous with dehumanized activity -- becomes a paramount concern. The economic interests of the society exploit this system of recreational desires and reap profits from it. Thus, the society generates a pattern of pervasive alienation from self and economically thrives on the fruits of that very same alienation.

In order to put an end to the alienation of self from Fromm's point of view it is necessary to reorganize the structures and goals of the society which generates it. Human values and social structures must be substituted for the dominant material values and structures. Such a social reorganization would have the joint effect of on the one hand reducing self-estrangement on the part of those who are socially integrated and reducing alienation from society on the part of those who attempt to maintain their individual integrity and assert human values on the other. Fromm sees such a reformation as being linked to actions placing control over work and major decisons affecting life directly in the hands of the individual -- rather than in distant and materialistic institutions and social agents. The result would presumably be a generalized increase in humanism, in satisfaction with work and integration of self and society.

5. Seeman

Seeman's interest lies in the development of a system of factors to categorize the various phenomena associated with the concept of alienation. He suggests five factors which are thought to encompass the broad range of meanings associated with the term alienation and in so doing to provide a basis for systematically relating and investigating the major analyses of alienation -- e.g., those by Marx-Engels, Durkheim, Merton, Fromm, etc. Seeman's five factors are considered independent of each other and presume to be exhaustive. They include:

a) Powerlessness: the feeling that one cannot affect his environment, that he is at the mercy of external forces, of fate;

b) Meaninglessness: the feeling that the individual cannot understand the environmental events surrounding him, that he does not know in what or whom to believe;

c) Normlessness: that there is confusion over what the norms are because of deterioration of the socially sanctioned system of beliefs and values, that there is conflict over what is expected of individuals because of a breakdown in societal consensus;

d) Isolation: that the individual withdraws behaviorally and affectively from the society, its institutions and power;

e) Self-estrangement: that the individual either does not know who he is and where he fits in in the world or knows but does not react positively to his identity.

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d) Isolation: that the individual withdraws behaviorally and affectively from the society, its institutions and power;

e) Self-estrangement: that the individual either does not know who he is and where he fits in in the world or knows but does not react positively to his identity.

Such measures must be found in the theorists who have dealt with alienation in terms of one or more of the five factors described above.

We have presented this brief review of alienation as treated by social philosophers to convey some sense of the fact that as a concept in social analysis "alienation" has a rich and diverse intellectual history of its own. Our own orientation -- i.e., to relate alienation to educational institutions -- suggests that we be concerned with alienation in terms of its impact on the day-to-day activities of children and adolescents -- a topic which has not typically been the concern of the social philosophers and analysts discussed above. We are particularly concerned with the roots of alienation in the social structure of childhood and adolescence, for it is here that we may examine the developmental processes which enhance social identity and integration as opposed to estrangement. Furthermore we are concerned with those manifestations of alienation which result in social disruption and/or interfere with social development of the individual citizen. Thus, we are not particularly concerned with the kind of alienation which leads writers and intellectuals to seek new art forms, new forms of "consciousness," and some "new cultural synthesis," for such activities typically do not have direct impact on the day-to-day lives of the greater part of the citizenry or tend to significantly disrupt the social structure of the polity. Rather, our concern is far more "mundane." It is with such things as high school dropouts, juvenile delinquency, adolescent aimlessness, and the like. Our model of alienation is therefore best characterized as psycho-social, not cultural. Our analyses focus on the relation of socialization experiences to feelings and behaviors of estrangement from significant social forces -- school, family, polity, etc. While the social theorists discussed above may prove relevant to our concerns, our initial conception is to be made in less abstract terms, and with greater emphasis on the "everydayness" of social experience.

Given our conception of alienation the following five areas are of interest:

1. Association with and affection for social agents and institutions: An important dimension of alienation is the extent to which the individual is "tied into" the human community by virtue of feelings of affiliation and affection toward social agents and institutions, e.g., whether a person likes and feels a part of school.

2. Locus of control: Another dimension of alienation is the extent to which the individual feels able to affect his social surroundings, the extent to which he feels in control of his fate as opposed to being at the mercy of uncontrollable external forces.

3. Social trust: A third dimension of alienation is the extent to which the individual feels social agents are reliable and trustworthy. Social trust is an important factor in whether or not the individual will defer immediate gratification based on a promise of future reward. Such willingness to defer gratification bears importantly upon the individual's willingness and ability to participate in goal-oriented social groups.

4. Pro-social behavior: A fourth dimension of alienation is the extent to which the individual engages in pro-social behavior -- i.e., behavior which is connected with socially sanctioned institutions and objectives, "good causes." In contrast to pro-social behavior the individual may engage in either anti-social behavior -- overt delinquency, such as vandalism -- or asocial behavior -- i.e., behavior which is oriented toward purely personal experience, withdrawal, or self-destruction as in the case of drug abuse.

5. Orientation toward the human community: A fifth dimension of alienation is the extent to which the individual has a positive orientation toward human behavior and characteristics, i.e., whether he sees fellow persons predominatly

in positive or negative terms.

B. The Origins of Alienation

Alienation is a sense of estrangement, or not belonging. We must in some way account for the processes by which this "feeling" develops. Understanding this may assist us in understanding the forces which motivate alienated behaviors. To this end we must consider the psychology of alienation.

There are two basic modes in which a sense of estrangement may arise. The first of these modes is a condition in which a person "simply" does not become attached to and a part of social settings, institutions, groups, etc. That is, for reasons of inadequate contact and/or motivation an individual does not develop a sense of identification with significant social entities. Thus, the individual finds himself in a situation in which he simply does not feel he belongs. For example, if children do not have extensive interaction with persons other than peers we may expect that they will not feel a sense of belonging and identification with younger children and adults. In such a setting children will be alienated directly as a function of the lack of social interaction, "by default" as it were. To reduce such alienation it would appear necessary to introduce, systematically, programs which facilitated interaction between children and important social entities -- e.g., older and younger children, adults in the world of work, roles which require the excerise of responsibility and leadership, etc. By doing this, we may expect a sense of identification to develop "as a matter of course."

We may summarize this mode of alienation thus: alienation arises simply and directly from insufficient experience in patterns of interaction with important and social settings.

Analysis of the second mode by which alienation is generated presents a more complex and difficult problem. In this mode alienation arises out of a situation in which an individual is confronted with the problem of resolving a conflict between his membership and participation in a social entity, on the one hand, and his concept of himself on the other. That is, an individual is faced with a situation in which he cannot reconcile his view of himself with his experience in a social setting. For example, consider the case of the student who experiences a pattern of consistent academic failure. How can this experience of failure be reconciled with a positive "self-image?" Investigators who have studied such situations -- and who term it "cognitive dissonance" -- conclude that in general such a discrepancy is unpleasant and uncomfortable. The more important the elements of the conflict the more intense the dissonance, and the more pressing the need to resolve that dissonance. Such a conflict can be resolved in more than one way. The individual may devalue himself -- i.e., accept the definition of himself as a failure. Such a resolution may be termed a kind of self-alienation. The individual may, on the other hand, sever his identification with and attachment to the social setting which provides the negative evaluation. Concretely, the connection between self and school may be "dissolved." This form of resolution is the kind of alienation with which we are concerned. Such a pattern of "defensive" estrangement from social settings occurs in reference to family, school, peer groups, polities, and other important social agencies. It is a kind of "active" alienation as opposed to the more "passive" alienation which arises from inadequate social interaction. Efforts to ameliorate this active form of alienation resulting from the need to resolve cognitive dissonance are, like the problem itself, difficult and complex in nature. Such efforts must in some way preempt the conflict in the first place. We shall note below that academic failure is a persistent and widespread "cause" of a alienation in educational settings. Our analysis suggests that it will be necessary to prevent academic failure so that we may prevent the alienation which accompanies it. So long as there is widespread academic failure there will be alienation generated as a kind of adaptive mechanism — i.e., in those cases where the concept of failure is not integrated into the individual's self-image.

We have outlined two modes of the origins of alienation. There is evidence to indicate that both modes contribute to estrangement among students in the educational institutions with which we are concerned. Our recommendations will attempt to meet the challenge of both "causes" of alienation.

Alienation in the society at large appears to be a growing problem. Surveys and polls indicate an ever greater sense of social estrangement, particularly among youth (e.g., Yankelovitch, 1972). Such social alienation is a serious problem, for alienation appears to be related to political participation (Almond and Verba, 1963; Seeman, 1966), moral development (Garbarino and Bronfenbrenner, 1973), satisfaction with social groups (Clark, 1959), and even one's "will to live" (Ellison, 1966; Wolls and Seiden, 1965).

Our concern, however, is with alienation and educational institutions. It is to this area that our attention next turns.

C. Alienation in the Schools

Introduction:

Having established a "working definition" of alienation, it is incumbent upon us to indicate the scope of our primary question of interest, i.e., what is the relationship between educational institutions and the development of social identity as opposed to alienation. We can begin this task by attempting to specify several different approaches to the extent of "responsibility" for alienation which can be assigned to educational institutions under different systems of educational and social philosophy and as a function of different social and historical conditions.

First, and most directly, we can consider the manner in which educational institutions by their structure or policies contribute directly to alienation. Put another way, to what extent are the policies and structural patterns of educational institutions "causes" of alienation? Clearly, such effects are the concern of the administrators and policy makers connected with the educational institutions in question. Even under the most limited conception of the "social responsibility" of educational institutions such a direct contribution to alienation is improper, and should be corrected if at all possible without unduly infringing on or damaging other important educational functions.

Second, and less directly, we can consider potential roles that educational institutions may play in counteracting alienating factors in the individual environments of specific students. That is, the educational institutions may be seen as having an obligation to provide "remedial" socialization for individuals who because of their background come to the school alienated. Within the conception of the educational institution as the provider of "individualized" education such a role seems proper and within the mandate of the schools as it is commonly understood.

A third, and still less direct approach is to consider the potential impact of educational institutions in social settings in which there is widespread alienation, or at least there is evidence of the presence of alienating forces. In such a time and place the educational institutions may be called upon to assume an "activist" role in providing experiences designed to foster social identity and counteract alienation. It may well be that in a different social setting -- either in time or place -- the provision of such experiences was the province of other social agents and agencies. However, in the face of a breakdown of those patterns of socialization it may be reasonable to expect educational institutions -- particularly "publically supported institutions" -- to "pick up the slack" and undertake historically new tasks. This third aspect of the relation between educational institutions and alienation is clearly more controversial than the previous two and subject to criticism on the grounds that it goes beyond what can be reasonably expected. It remains, however, an important and potentially executable function in the appropriate social and historical settings.

To summarize, then, there are three aspects of the relation between educational institutions and alienation which may be considered. It seems clear that it is improper for educational institutions to cause or exacerbate alienation. It seems appropriate that educational institutions deal with individual cases in which because of improper or inadequate socialization histories a remedial program of social identity development be conducted by the schools. It seems possible that in social settings in which alienation is widespread due to generally inadequate socialization patterns the educational institutions assume the role of developers of social identity through positive programs of action. In this report all three possibilities are considered in light of available research evidence from the field of human development.

Evidence of Alienation in the Schools:

Any discussion of "alienation in the schools" is likely to result in a cacophony of mutually incomprehensible positions. For some, the existence of alienation in the schools if "obvious;" for others it is "inconceivable." We may profitably recount a brief anecodote to illustrate this point. A conference on the "Role of Business and Industry in Human Development" was held at Wingspread -- the conference center of the Johnson Foundation in Racine, Wisconsin -- in 1971. Attending the conference were social and developmental psychologists concerned with alienation as well as a group of business and industrial leaders from the State of Wisconsin. A presentation was made concerning the "Roots of Alienation" in patterns of social interaction among children and adults in family, school and community settings. The substance of the report came under harsh and disbelieving criticism from a large contingent of the conference's participants. Put most simply, they did not believe that alienation of such intensity and seriousness existed outside of a few hotbeds of social dissolution located in the Far West and Atlantic Northeast. A wall existed between those for whom the existence of serious levels of alienation was "obvious" and those for whom such a phenomenon was "inconceivable". To shed some light on the matter, a consultation with representatives of the juvenile division of the local police force was arranged. In the view of the officers it was "inconceivable" that people should not recognize the "obvious" problem of alienation among adolescents "under the noses" of the conference partcipants. If we are to take anything away from this story, it should be that our views of "reality" -- particularly social reality -- are clearly fashioned of our own experiences. The recent report of the New York State Commission on the Causes of Campus Unrest deals with this issue in terms which have direct and important application to the social realities of New York State:

> While the major problems of secondary unrest are in the larger metropolitan centers, the relationships and similarities of our findings in the cities in the area of unrest equally applies to the hundreds of other schools in the State of New York.
> (Henderson Commission Report #2, p.7)

Alienation in the schools is evidenced by many phenomena. Students frequently feel that their relationships with faculty and administration are those of warring parties instead of collaborators.

> "Students feel that their principals will side with a teacher, no matter what the facts. Many see both supervisor and teacher as utilizing the school system for their own benefit rather than for that of the students; most find that teachers have no time for them outside of the class itself."
> (Henderson Commission, Report #2, p.19)

There is evidence of lack of trust and understanding concerning the motives of each "side" by the other.

> Administrators, pointing to overcrowding, consider it unrealistic to remove long held restrictions on the students. They speak of sound level and evacuation of buildings in case of fire. Importantly, the students generally were not aware of the administration's reasons. Specifically, there is a failure of communication among

> administrators and faculty and students. This failure, as well as poor communication between these groups and parents and the community, is almost everywhere a cause of unrest.
>
> Students have related that they did not trust the administration or the faculty. They did not feel they could safely go to them with their personal problems and some said they were reluctant to see faculty or administrators about academic problems.
> (Henderson Commission Report #2, p.26)

There is evidence of a lack of "community spirit" within the schools.

> The spirit of community is more the exception than the rule. The Commission heard of the need to develop a greater feeling of belonging to the school community. It often was suggested that interscholastic competition, especially athletics, can be the principal agent in giving students, faculty and administrators a common cause, developing "school spirit" and promoting further cooperation in other areas. There appears to be greater peer group activity preventing grievances from growing into disruptions at schools where interscholastic competition is promoted and consequently well attended.
>
> There is every indication that one of the underlying reasons for unrest in the secondary schools is the loss of school identification, "School Spirit". Where there are not programs of school activities, the young people in this age group, in looking for something to do, often drift into anti-social behavior.
> (Henderson Commission Report #2, pp.26-27)

We shall return to the role of "activities" is combatting alienation when we discuss principles upon which to make recommendations.

There is evidence of a kind of alienation of parents from the schools -- on a day-to-day basis.

> The parents wish their children to be educated, but many have had little interest in what was going on in the school. There is evidence that this is changing, but considering the size of our State, the numbers of parents involved is reported as small, except in instances of specific confrontation.
> (Henderson Commission Report #2, p.37)
>
> One very direct and simple index of alienation is attendance. Children who persistently seek to avoid attending school are expressing a very concrete form of estrangement. In the areas of greatest difficulty attendance has been reported as "below 60% in some cases on a normal day."
> (Henderson Commission Report #2, p.40)

There is evidence to indicate that vandalism, delinquency and illict drug use -- patterns of behavior which may be associated with academic alienation -- have intensified with accelerating rapidity in recent years.

> The Commission learned first hand, that in all parts of the State, in the large urban and even the small rural schools, the smoking of marijuana and the induction of hard narcotics has risen dramatically. This use is seen as both a symptom and a cause of unrest....leads to the conclusion that marijuana and hard narcotics are easily available to secondary school students. Measured by the continuing and growing numbers of young people involved, the narcotic instruction programs, where they exist, are not substantially succeeding or are not succeeding to the desired degree.
>
> (Henderson Commission Report #2, p.43)

> The violence and disruption in our educational system has shifted from the college to the secondary schools where reported crime and violence has increased tremendously in City and Metropolitan area schools.
>
> (Henderson Commission Report #3, p.xii)

There is evidence to suggest that a serious problem exists in the realm of student and teacher conceptions of the social realities of educational institutions. As has been indicated above, differences in the ways that individuals and groups understand the reality of "shared" experiences can contribute significantly to important patterns of behavior. The conflict between what is "obvious" to one party and "inconceivable" to another was a bearing on the kinds of "solutions" each sees as appropriate -- if indeed there is any agreement concerning the very need for solution in the first place. We have reason to believe such a situation -- of importantly different conceptions of social reality -- exists to an ever increasing degree in the schools -- particularly the secondary schools. The Commission on Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education (The Fleischmann Commission) has reported information bearing on this question.

For example:

1. in a statewide survey, 66^{o}/o of the students indicated they did not enjoy school;

2. when asked to rate school morale as "positive", "average", or "negative", 52°/o of the students picked "negative" while 64°/o of the teachers picked "positive",

3. when asked to rate the overall educational process on the same scale (i.e., positive-average-negative) 52°/o of the teachers picked positive compared with 28°/o of the students.

(Fleischmann Commission Report, p. 1.58)

Such findings are a kind of prima facie evidence of alienation. Even allowing for some amount of negative exaggeration by students and positive exaggeration by teachers, the data indicate a dangerous lack of consensus regarding the day-to-day experience of education by students and teachers. Such a lack of consensus has implications for the kind of "ameliorative" action students may desire and teachers may see as unnecessary. Such a condition in many ways resembles race relations in the larger society. While some see the situation as adequate or better, others see it as nearly intolerable.

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Results of the survey on a number of items of importance revealed further significant differences in student and teacher views:

(reproduced from the Commission Report, source:
Community Resources Limited, High Schools in Crisis,
Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1971)

How Teachers Treat Students	Teachers		Students	
	disagree	agree	disagree	agree
Treat students as responsible	10.4%	52.4%	34.9%	37.0%
Listen to students' opinions	15.3	46.6	42.1	31.2
Understand student problems	21.8	41.7	52.7	21.0
Help students develop skills	12.9	49.6	43.0	29.2
Help students do best	8.9	55.1	40.1	29.9
Concerned about students' future	10.4	60.2	42.1	32.0
How Students Treat Teachers				
Students respect teachers	13.8	52.8	36.5	29.2
Students listen to teachers' opinion	18.3	39.6	35.3	28.9
Students help teachers do their best	23.8	32.3	46.8	18.1
Students understand teachers' problems	63.3	9.3	61.7	14.9
Students can disagree with teachers	7.0	72.7	48.0	29.9

We support the commission's concern with this state of affairs, which they describe in the following terms: "Teachers' perceptions of the school situation were substantially different from those of students. Teachers appeared largely unaware of the negative feeling of their students....student dissatisfaction of this magnitude is a real cause for concern." (Fleischmann Commission Report, p. 1.59) We view these findings as supporting the view that there is significant alienation within the schools.

The Henderson Commission commissioned a study of dropping out among students across the State. In the Commission's view the study

> ...was designed to measure the attitude of students toward school. It was designed to identify the "alienated" student, the one most likely to drop out of school. It also indicates the "area" which is most bothering him; such as Teachers, Education, Peers or Parents, or School Behavior. The purpose is to pin-point a specific problem in an area. The most shocking revelation of the study indicates that *statewide 50°/o of the students will either drop-out physically or remain in school as a mental drop-out*.
>
> (Henderson Commission Report #3, p.59) (italics added)

These results and others discussed above indicate that alienation within the schools is indeed a major and serious problem, affecting directly one of every two students.

Alienation and Delinquency:

Of obvious importance is the relationship of alienation to **delinquency** (Allen and Sandhu, 1967) Presumably one of the consequences of alienation is anti-social behavior--that is, because the individual feels estranged from the institutions, persons and values around him he is not likely to feel bound by the rules and standards of those same institutions and persons. Martin Gold (1969) has conducted a review of the evidence bearing on this hypothesized relationship. Gold points to the essential validity of the hypothesis that alienation and delinquency are related, but at the same time points to an important qualification.

> Delinquent behavior is *ipso facto* evidence of the ineffective influence of those who create, advocate and stand behind the law. Students of delinquency are quick to remind us, however, that delinquency may also testify to the effective social influence of those who encourage it....Their challenge makes clear that alienation in this sense is not in the first instance a characteristic of an individual but a characteristic of his relationships. The individual may only secondarily be characterized by the alienated pattern of his relationships, taking into account not only the sum of his relationships, but their relative salience as well.
>
> (Gold, 1969, p.125)

Gold's analysis suggests the importance of recognizing that our efforts to understand delinquency and its relation to alienation must be rooted in an assessment of the structure of the settings in which the individual -- and his other social relationships -- operate. In our present context, that of the educational institution, we must remember, then, that we are dealing not with alienated individuals -- as if alienation were something carried around inside the adolescent, child or adult -- but with alienated and alienating situations. This point will assume greater importance as we consider the kind of action which may be taken to reduce alienation and delinquency within and without the educational institution.

Gold indicates that there is a relatively clear relationship between alienation from parents and delinquency. Thus, there is evidence of relatively low levels of interaction between highly delinquent boys and their fathers, and that the fathers of highly delinquent boys indicate that they have very little influence over their son's behavior -- particularly in the son's choice of friends. This finding leads to a major conclusion of Gold's analysis; that perhaps the most important single factor in the relation of alienation to delinquency is the autonomous peer group.

Gold's analysis indicates that the adolescent engaging in delinquent behavior, while he is estranged from social agent and agencies which promote prosocial behavior, is attached to the peer group, which tends to promote anti- or asocial behavior.

> The alienation of most heavily delinquent teenagers is only partial. While they are not positively influenced by their parents, and in the absence of that link, alienated from conventional elements of their society, they seem to be firmly integrated with some of their peers. A large proportion of delinquent behavior, over three-fourths, is group behavior, and most of the delinquent behavior committed by a lone teenager is quickly reported to friends. Indeed, one of the variables most closely associated with the frequency and seriousness of delinquent behavior is teenagers' perceptions that their friends are heavily delinquent. (Gold, 1969, p.127)

Evidence gathered and analyzed by Simon (1972) further supports this view of the adolescent as alienated from adult and institutional agents and agencies by virtue of the fact of being integrated into peer relations. The peer group is autonomous, estranged from the adult agents and institutions, and the member of that group is thus set apart from and against those same adult agents and agencies. It should be stressed that this is not a necessary relation. Bronfenbrenner (1970) points to the existence of other cultures in which the peer group is not autonomous from adult agents and agencies, in which the peer group is under the direct supervision of adult agents. In such a setting the relation between alienation and delinquency described by Gold does not obtain. This fact will be of importance when we attempt to propose recommendations.

If we next consider the direct relation of the adolescent's connection with the school to delinquency we find some interesting evidence. As Gold summarizes this issue and the relevant evidence;

> ...the question of whether heavily delinquent teenagers are characteristically alienated students, that is, feel that the goals which their schools prescribe for them are not their personal goals. The answer, I believe, is clearly no. Adolescents generally regard their studenthood as preparation for the future -- for better jobs, better pay, and greater job satisfaction. (Going to school may be intrinsically satisfying to some high schoolers, but Coleman's (1961) and Gordon's (1957) data demonstrate that the academic side of school life seldom satisfies teenagers as much as the social side.) Most of them believe that a successful education is the key to a successful life. Repeatedly apprehended delinquent boys...are indistinguishable from non-apprehended boys in their testimony on the relevance of school to their own aspirations.
> (Gold, 1963, 160-161)
> (Gold 1969, p.132)

The fact that there is little or no attitudinal estrangement present among delinquents may be seen as the force which in the long run leads to a direct relation between behavioral estrangment from school and alienation.

It has been demonstrated that failure in school -- as indexed by poor grades does relate directly to delinquency.

> Poor grades have a marked association with greater delinquency... No matter what their age or social status, or how delinquent they believe their friends to be, or whether they come from broken or intact homes, boys whose school grades fall well below their class average are significantly more delinquent than their fellows....I suspect that the association between academic failure and heavy delinquency is not evidence of alienation in the sense of self-estrangement, but rather of its opposite. Neither the goals of studenthood, nor their failure at studenthood is alien to them; the goals are among their most salient motives, and their failure is most significantly their own. Delinquency may be generated from the teenager's involvement with studenthood. Delinquent behavior may constitute a solution to the problem of a derogated self, an effort to satisfy the requirements of at least one important role. For delinquency is a way of being "one of the boys", which has the double connotation of being a good companion and in such a way as to be an adequate male. If those boys who give up on being students, in deed by truancy and dropping out, or in mind by making no effort, are more heavily delinquent, it is not because school is irrelevant but too relevant.
> (Gold, 1969, p.133)

This analysis may be related to our previous discussion of the importance of "cognitive consonance" in shaping the student's relationship with the educational institution. The individual must maintain a sense of cognitive balance among the various relationships in which he is involved. By providing an experience which is dominated by academic failure, the education institution may be setting in motion a process which necessitates some compensatory pattern of behavior on the student's part which will in some way balance the negative provided by the school setting. Such a balancing must take some form of the following patterns: 1) dissolve attachment to school, therefore negative experience in school (academic failure) becomes irrelevant; 2) adopt negative view of self, consonant with that provided by the school; 3) reciprocate negative input of school by engaging in anti-social behavior, thus the two negatives balance. As Gold indicates, the importance of education is firmly a part of the student's culture in that it is likely that the individual will engage in some negative response to the school rather than either develop a negative view of self or cut loose from school.

The two aspects of the relation of alienation to delinquency which seem most susceptible to alteration within the context of educational institutions are the following: 1) the failure experiences which lead to delinquency as a means of achieving some form of "success" necessary for a positive self concept, and 2) the related phenomenon of the autonomous peer group which provides support for delinquency and a setting in which the individual who is academically frustrated can find a measure of success through anti-social behavior, i.e., delinquency. Both use of collective responsibility and cooperative behavior at early ages to develop a pattern of interaction in which the peer group is not autonomous, but rather is integrated into the adult patterns. In this way the support system for delinquency will be removed. At the same time, such a program would involve activities which would afford socially sanctioned success for each student -- by expanding the definition of academic success.

III. Critical Areas of the Relation of Educational Institutions to Alienation

A. Concerning Academic Failure

B. Concerning School-Community Relations

C. Concerning School Size

D. The "Overdetermination" of Alienation

A. Academic Failure

"Alienation follows frustration"

(Henderson Commission Report #3, p.28)

As we have indicated above, one of the two major modes by which alienation arises may be termed "defensive" cognitive dissonance reduction. That is, the individual severs his relation to a social entity because of the intolerable negative definition of himself provided by his relation to that entity. In the case of students and school the operation of this phenomenon of alienation seems clear. Studies of this phenomenon have been conducted by the Fleischmann and Henderson Commissions. Areas of large scale academic failure are also areas of disruption and alienation among students. A large scale study of the relation of academic ability to all forms of social behavior and success at the elementary school level (HEW, 1972) reports grounds for considering social and academic development and unitary characteristic -- i.e., a constellation of highly related patterns. Students doing well academically are generally succeeding with their peers and with the teacher. The review of the relation of alienation to juvenile delinquency by Gold (1969) indicates that poor grades and delinquency are linked. The relation suggested by Gold conforms tothe "defensive" cognitive dissonance alienation discussed above -- i.e., students who fail academically, turn to delinquency to rationalize the conflict between their connection with the school and its negative definition of them. (Byles, 1968; Lauterbach 1967) As the Henderson Commission so eloquently put it, "Alienation follows frustration." The problem of academic failure and alienation is -- like most problems -- related to socioeconomic factors. A study conducted for the Fleischmann Commission by Gams found that most of the variance in academic achievement in the schools is associated with socio-economic factors -- i.e., parental education, income, housing, and the like (Fleischmann Commission Report, p.1.33) The operation of this defensive alienation is compounded by the fact that students are staying in school for longer and longer periods of time and that there are fewer economic opportunities for the high school drop out. Thus, whereas in previous times, a student could resolve the problem of academic failure by simply leaving school and entering the economic market as a worker, this option has been to an ever larger degree shut off. (Henderson Commission Report #3) The student is thus forced to remain in school by the lack of economic opportunity and the social norms for school attendance. The academic failure remains, however, and alienation and delinquency seem to be the product.

Academic failure may be "masked" by social promotion -- i.e., advancing the student to keep him at a grade level with peers despite academic unpreparedness. In the view of the Henderson Commission, this represents a source of disruption.

> The practice of social promotion (advancing failing students to keep them with their age group) plays an important part in this low attendance and unrest. The child who can't do the work, who is not at the academic level of the grade he is in, resents his inability, causes disruption, becomes a disciplinary problem, eventually a truant. His behavior while in school is such as to retard the progress of his classmates.
> (Henderson Commission Report #2, p.40)

Like many problems facing the educational system, academic failure is related to "rising expectations." That is, as the norms by which success is judged have changed -- e.g., staying in school as a universal pattern -- the problems of failure have likewise changed.

If we are to consider measure by which academic failure and the resulting alienation are to be combatted, it will be necessary to explicate a model of academic development. Such a model will aid in understanding the origins and likely "cures" of failure. Our interest, of course, is in those aspects of potentially remedial action which are appropriate for Legislative concern and action -- rather than those which are oriented toward individual problems and solutions. Our concern is with academic failure at the macro rather than the micro level of educational analysis.

A Model of Academic Failure: The "Academic Culture" Hypothesis

Constructing an explanatory model to deal with the persistent differences in academic success and failure observed as a function of socioeconomic factors has proved a complex, difficult and often controversial task. Three principal models have been offered. The first of these models looks to genetic differences in innate intellectual ability as the source of the differences in academic development (Jensen, 1969). The second model sees the origins of academic failure in the deprived early experience of the child from lower socioeconomic conditions (e.g., Hunt, 1961). The third model sees the roots of academic failure in patterns of parent-child interaction which are concrete and restricted vs. abstract and elaborated in their verbal format (e.g., Hess, 1965) East of these models sees the origins of academic failure as somehow carried around inside the individual child, in what the child brings to the school. Whether the cause be genetic or environmental, the child may be said to possess a "deficit" which prevents him from academically succeeding. Our concern here is with an emerging fourth model which may shed some light on the roots of academic failure and thus on the roots of alienation.

This model of academic failure derives from a series of studies and discussions dealing with critiques of the models summarized above. The "gist" of these critiques is that the skills, characteristics, styles and overall "psychological ecology" of the school system are most appropriately considered a kind of "academic culture." And, like any other culture, the "academic culture" must be learned. It is possible for an individual to be "bi-cultural -- which to some extent involves being bi-lingual -- in the sense that he operates according to the "academic culture" in the school and some non-academic culture at home, in the neighborhood, on the streets, etc. A number of developmental and cognitive psychologists have undertaken specification of the component parts of the "academic culture" and the conditions under which it is developed. In many cases, these efforts have not been specifically directed toward the development of such a model of the "academic culture", but their work admits of such an interpretation. Ginsburg (1972), Cole and Brunner (1971), McClelland (1973), and Bronfenbrenner (1973) may be included in the list of contributors to the model of "academic culture." The importance of this model is that it offers an explanation of why some children fail and others succeed with specific application to the problem of socioeconomic difference.

The "academic culture" is that pattern of behavior and thought which is characteristically encouraged and supported in the schools. It involves "formal" speech in standard English -- as opposed to some dialect -- as well as disciplined attention to written tasks, adult direction, formal cognitive operations, and the like. It is thus a pattern of skills, orientations and motivations which are necessary for academic success. Our purpose in this report is not to comment directly on critics who suggest that the "academic culture" is not a necessary or even desirable component of the school system, but to indicate that it is the discrepancy among students in the degree to which they have internalized the "academic culture" which appears to account for the major part of the variation in academic success and failure. In this view, the reason children from upper socioeconomic settings consistently perform better in school is that they come to the school with many of the basic characteristics of the "academic culture" already internalized and are more highly motivated to adopt what they don't already know than are children from lower socioeconomic background. An important part of this difference is to be found in the degree to which the parents of the child have become familiar with and committed to the "academic culture." It is repeatedly found that the education of the child's parents is strongly associated with the academic success of the child. It has been further discovered that a very large proportion of the variation in children's school success and development is accounted for not by the time spent in the school -- i.e., during the school year -- but during the time the child is not in school -- i.e., over the summer vacation. Put another way, it is necessary for the family, neighborhood and community of the student to model and support the "academic culture" if the child is to adopt the culture. It is clear that children can be bi-lingual and bi-cultural if both cultures are valued and neither is derogated (e.g., in Switzerland). It is when the child's other culture is derogated by the school or the academic culture is derogated by the home culture that difficulties and estrangement arise.. Evidence reported by Bronfenbrenner (1973) and Ginsburg (1972) indicates the children from lower socioeconomic settings can operate in the "academic culture" with success. While Ginsburg (1972) focuses on the measures that may be effective to this end within the classroom, Bronfenbrenner (1973) focuses on the steps to be taken to encourage support for the academic culture within the family and community. Such measures are particularly appropriate for our consideration because they serve the two-fold purpose of reducing alienation as a function of academic failure and as a function of inadequate social interaction. Appendix A provides a summary of Bronfenbrenner's evidence and the recommendations for programs to enhance the development of support for the "academic culture" among persons from lower socioeconomic settings.

B. School-Community Relations

The proper relation of school to community is a matter of some debate. Our concern with alienation, however, suggests several principles:

1. In order to prevent the rise of alienation due to lack of adequate social interaction with important aspects of the community -- e.g., adults in the world of work -- it is necessary that children and adolescents experience and be exposed to the major features of the community in enduring patterns of relationship. If such enduring patterns of relationship do not arise "naturally", the educational activities of the school will be made difficult because of the resulting alienation. It is therefore in the interest of educational institutions to foster experiences which will lead to enduring patterns of interaction among children and all other aspects of the social environment -- e.g., older children, adolescents, the elderly, adults in the world of work, etc.

2. In order to prevent the rise of alienation as a "defensive" cognitive dissonance mechanism it is necessary to forestall conflicts in which the child's ethnic, religious or racial heritage is placed in direct opposition to the school. That is, if the child finds severe and irreconcilable conflict between the heritage of his community and the demands of the school there is likely to be estrangement from one or both forces. Thus, community and school should mutually support each other in order that the child not be forced to choose between them.

3. In order to prevent the rise of both patterns of alienation described above, it is necessary that the school have an explicit responsibility for the "social development" of the child in addition to the "academic and intellectual development" of the child.

We may profitably consider ways in which there are currently serious problems in each of these three areas of concern.

The very complex dynamics of community-school relations are considered by the Henderson Commission in the context of busing to achieve racial balance. The Commission's conclusions and observations of this matter illustrate the web of problems.

> In minority areas where there are schools which are recognized as not adequately preparing the students, the parents of these children want them to remain in their home neighborhood. They want the local schools upgraded. Among these parents there were those who felt that the distant school and its' community were hostile to their children. Some were not opposed to the transporting of their children when the distances were not too far. Many felt that the cultural problems the children had to overcome were so great that they should not enter a different and hostile atmosphere until they had mastered their learning problems.
>
> While they knew that the local school unit was presently inadequate, they felt that they at least had something to say about the local school and could work to make it better. With the children away from their locality, in a school where the majority of parents were different from themselves, they would have little or no say.
>
> When it came to actual commitment of increased parent activity in school affairs, it was evident that the increase is minor. For the greater part, these minority parents were almost totally involved in an economic struggle to care for themselves and their children, leaving little time for other things. They felt that the school was the job of the administration and teachers and they should do their job. Above all, they demanded that the school should be fair. They were concerned about the bad effects of teacher and parent strikes. They feared the continual crisis atmosphere in the schools which interferred with learning.
>
> (Commission Report, #3, pp. 34-35)

We must consider the important of these sentiments in terms of evidence presented by Bronfenbrenner (1973) in his review of early intervention programs. This evidence, bearing on the role of "community support for education" upon the development of the individual child, is examined in another section of our report. Put briefly, however, the findings of the Commission as they bear on community support for schools indicate that the critical "root" of the academic failure and the alienation may be found in the same place -- estrangement of schools from the "natural" support systems of parents and neighborhood.

Statement of Principles Concerning the Relation of the School to the Community:

In "The Roots of Alienation", Bronfenbrenner (1972) considers the important role of educational institutions in the development of social identity -- as opposed to alienation. His analysis focuses on the role of community-school relations in the social development of the individual child and in shaping the social environment of the school and larger community.

> The role of the school, While training for responsibility by giving responsibility clearly begins in the family, the institution which has probably done the most to keep children insulated from challenging social tasks is the American school system. For historical reasons rooted in the separation of church and state, this system has been isolated from responsible social concern both substantively and spatially. In terms of content, education in America, when viewed cross-culturally, seems peculiarly onesided; it emphasizes subject matter to the exclusion of another molar aspect of the child's development. The neglect of this second area is reflected by the absence of any generally accepted term for it in our educational vocabulary. What the Germans call Erziehung, the Russians vospitanie, and the French education has no common counterpart in English. Perhaps the best equivalents are "upbringing" or "character education" -- terms which, to the extent that they have any meaning at all to us, sound outmoded and irrelevant. In many countries of Western and Eastern Europe, however, the corresponding terms are not only current, but constitute what is regarded as the core of the educational process -- the development of the child's qualities as a person -- his values, motives, and patterns of social response. The last mentioned category underscores the point that these are matters not only of educational philosophy, as they are sometimes with us, but of concrete educational practice within the classroom and without -- in the home, neighborhood, and larger community. The preceding statement highlights the second insular aspect of the American educational process; our schools and thereby our children are kept insulated from the immediate social environment, from the life of the community, neighborhood, and the families that the schools purport to serve, and the life for which they are supposedly preparing the children under their charge.
>
> Moreover, the insularity characterizing the relation of the American school to the outside world is repeated within the school to the outside world is repeated within the school itself, where children are segregated into classrooms that have little social connection to each other or to the school as a common community, for which members might take active

> responsibility both as individuals and as groups.
>
> During the past decade, the trend toward segregation of the school from the rest of society has been rapidly accelerated by the other forces of social disorganization that we have discussed. As a result, the schools have become one of the most potent breeding ground of alienation in American society. For this reason, it is of crucial importance for the welfare and development of school age children that schools be reintegrated into the life of the community. Above all, we must reverse the present trend toward the construction and administration of schools as isolated compounds divorced from the rest of the community. Many schools are becoming quasi-penal institutions in which teachers are increasingly forced to function as detectives and guards with pupils being treated as suspects or prisoners for whom liberty is a special privilege.
>
> (Bronfenbrenner, pp. 671-672)

Bronfenbrenner's analysis is based on a review of cross-cultural studies of socialization and education and raises important questions for our own educational and social system. There is evidence to suggest that a "gap" between community and school does in fact exist. This is apparently the case both in terms of the role of the school as moral agent in the development of the child, as well as an instrument of the community for overall social unity.

The Fleischmann Commission noted a sense of alienation of community from schools in the source of their investigations.

> "...in most communities, the clients -- parents, students and local citizens -- feel that they have little influence over what happens in their schools."
>
> (Fleischmann Commission Report, p. 1.64)

The Purposes of Education:

It would seem that one of the roots of the problem of alienation and educational institutions lies in the commonly held definition of the proper purposes of education. This conclusion emerges in our consideration of the Fleischmann Commission and is reinforced in the Henderson Commission's discussions. The Commission Report offers the following statements bearing on the purposes of public education:

> The fundamental aim of our education system is to give each of our young citizens an equal opportunity to obtain quality learning. (Henderson Commission Report #3, p.23)

> The subject can best be put in a question; is the educational system per se failing, or have the tensions of our time, the social pressures, the speed-up in communications, the speed-up in mobility, and other attendant factors so intruded into the school that the schools have been changed into a vehicle primarily for social change? This, in turn, raises a major question; can any system designed primarily to educate, survive and fulfill its function properly under the impact of these extraordinary and immense pressures? And this, in turn, raises what must be the most fundamental question of all; shall the school remain primarily a vehicle for education or shall the school become principally a vehicle for social change? One would hope that from proper education, necessary social change would evolve.
>
> This Commission believes that despite the fact that immunization of the school from the community has never been and should not be complete, we nevertheless believe that the community must learn that the school must remain principally a vehicle for education.
>
> (Henderson Commission Report #3, p.40)

In all fairness, it should be noted that the Commission Report does indicate the need for the school to be attentive the "child's world outside the school." It is the contention of our report, however, that the available evidence indicates that 1) the purely academic functions of the school cannot be accomplished unless there is deep, abiding and active support for those educational functions from the home and neighborhood of the student (and that the only effective programs of improving the intellectual and academic development of children are those which focus on producing this necessary support without which academic reforms within the school are ineffective); and 2) within the school itself unless the "socialization" consequences of school structure and policies are considered, purely academic functions cannot be performed (i.e., if the child as moral and social phenomenon are not adequately dealt with by the school the child as cogntive-intellectual phenomenon cannot adequately be considered). Our critique, then, is that the definitional notions of the schools are dangerously inadequate. They stress academic development within the school without recognizing that such development cannot adequately occur unless some basic necessary conditions are met. The most salient of these conditions -- given the present historical, economic and social factors operative within the State -- are that the family and neighborhood of the child provide demonstrable support for the schools academic functions and that the school's structure, operations, policies and activities support the development of pro-social behavior and social identity. Without these joint "psycho-social supports" academic development becomes a Sisyphisian task.

The importance of these issues is underlined by the Fleischmann Commission's Report about future enrollment patterns within the State. Noting that the recent past -- the period since World War II -- has been dominated by the need to expand basic facilities to meet expanding enrollments, the Commission notes that the available projections indicate the future will not present this problem. This development presents an opportunity for reallocation of resources away from quantity in the direction of quality.

> In short, at least for the next decade or two, New York State will not face the rapid expansion of pupil population that characterized the last 25 years. The consequences are important. Once inflation is taken into account, the major part of future increments in financial resources available for education can go toward improvements in the quality of New York State's educational system.
> (Fleischmann Commission Report, p.1.9)

It is clear that definition of what constitutes "quality" will become of ever increasing importance. In our view, non-alienating settings are one of the more important indices of quality and should therefore come increasingly within the list of high priority educational needs for the State. Such a concern prompts our interest in the definition of the purposes of education by those charged with political responsibility.

The constitutional mandate for education in the State is actually quite open:

> Article XI Section 1: "The legislature shall provide for the maintenance and support of a system of free common schools, wherin all the children of the state may be educated."

The substantive meaning of what constitutes education has of course, been built up through legislative and administrative action as a reflection of values and historical circumstances. In our view the definition of education should, of necessity, become increasing couched in "social" terms. That is, the education of the students of the State should increasingly be defined in terms of social development. Emphasis on the purely cognitive education of children and adolescents will, paradoxically, increasingly prevent such cognitive education from occuring. Explicit commitment to social development in the form of Legislative resolution is needed.

C. School Size

It has been demonstrated that characteristics of group structure affect individual behavior and psychological processes. Given that our analysis of the origins of alienation sees inadequate experience with important social context as a major causal factor, we are drawn to a consideration of the effects of school size. This analysis is based on the principles of ecological psychology, which sees aspects of the day-to-day structure of experience as having highly important effects upon individual and group behavior and attitudes. We are interested in such ecological analyses which bear on the extent to which students have access to and are encouraged to participate in roles promoting the development of leadership, responsibility, a sense of belonging, and a sense of competence. These characteristics are viewed as a kind of psycho-social bulwark against alienation. To the extent that characteristics of the social structure of educational institutions inhibit the development of such a psycho-social bulwark we may accurately say that such structural characteristics are a "cause" of alienation. Evidence exists to support the contention that school size is just such a structural factor. The major investigation of school size is reported in R. Barker and P. Gump's Big School, (Stanford University Press, 1964). We have relied heavily on this investigation as well as a recent review of other studies of school size (C. Turner and M. Thrasher, School Size Does Make a Difference, Institute for Educational Management, San Diego, California). Because the findings of these investigations are both very clear and highly pertinent to our consideration of the relation of educational institutions to alienation we have included detailed reviews of both reports in appendices.

Big School, Small School investigated high schools of differing sizes -- from the very small to the large. The results indicate that although the large school has more settings in which students may interact, the ratio of settings-to-students is smaller. That is, the larger school is larger only in absolute terms; it is relatively smaller as a provider of opportunities per student. As a result of this effect, students experience different social realities as a funtion of school size. The larger school offers a setting conducive to the development of alienation; the small school, the generation of identity.

Summary of Material presented in Barker and Gump's Big School, Small School

Population Density Within the Schools:

The initial phase of the investigation was to determine the relation between school size and the number of behavioral settings. Using a complex system of analysis and classification -- the details of which are not essential to the present discussion -- Barker's group examined the structure of behavioral settings in the schools. Their main interest was to discover whether the larger school offered more different behavioral settings than the small school -- i.e., in simple terms, were there more different settings which students could be in the larger school than in the smaller school. The results of this analysis are interesting. Clearly there were more different settings in the larger schools. But the difference in number of settings was more than offset by the difference in population between small and large schools. That is, although there were more settings in the large schools there were more people to fill those settings. The net result of this was that the large school's settings had a higher population density per setting than did the small schools. Table O presents this pattern of results. The P/D ratio is so high in the large schools there is relatively less going on than in the smaller schools. In this sense, the small schools are described as "bigger on the inside than on the outside." The impact of this fact on the behavioral and attitudinal patterns of students is apparently quite significant. The exact nature and dimensions of this impact is the topic of much of the substantive research conducted by Barker's group, and will be discussed below.

Table O

School	Population	Differentiation	P/D Ratio
Otan	35	60	.58
Dorset	45	58	.78
Walker	83	96	.86
Malden	92	78	1.18
Meadow	113	94	1.20
Midwest	117	107	1.09
Vernon	151	98	1.54
Haven	221	154	1.44
Eakins	339	139	2.44
Booth	438	218	2.01
University City	945	312	3.03
Shereton	1,923	487	3.95
Capital City	2,287	499	4.58

Barker summarizes the results of this analysis in the following terms:

> ...a) the large schools had more parts than did the small schools, but b) the greater number of parts of the large schools was not proportional to their greater number of students, so that c) large schools had greater average density of students per setting (P/D ratio) than small schools, and d) they had a greater average number of student inhabitants per setting. (Barker and Gump, p.50)

Participation in Interschool Events

Roger Barker and Eleanor Hall (in Barker and Gump, 1964) report the results of an investigation of participation in interschool events as a function of school size. For this analysis a sample of 218 Kansas high schools was used. These schools were categorized by size into nine categories -- with 1 being the smallest and 9 being the largest (over two thousand students). A separate analysis revealed that there were no differences by size of school in the extent to which school administrators valued participation in interschool events and therefore might be expected to encourage and support such participation. Attention could therefore be focused on the differences as a function of school size. Table 1 reports the results of this analysis.

Table 1

Size of School by Class Category	Number of Participants in Interschool Events per Thousand Students
1	290
2	450
3	410
4	390
5	185
6	100
7	90
8	170
9	40

Barker points out that these figures do not indicate the number of different individuals who participated, but rather the number of "participations" from each school size category. The results indicate the following pattern:

> ...we find that participations in the five district events amounted to about 40% ...of the enrollment within the school size classes 2,3 and 4, that there was a sharp drop from these levels to school size-class 5... and that the schools in classes 2,3 and 4 had over ten times the rate of participation as the largest schools. (Barker and Hall, p.68)

School Size and Students' Reports of Extracurricular Activities

Barker and Hall (in Barker and Gump, 1964) report the results of an analysis of the relation between school size and the participation of students in extracurricular activities. Extracurricular activities were divided into seven groupings: members of school clubs, officers of school clubs and classes, members of athletic teams, cheerleaders, members of casts of school plays, members of athletic teams, members of staffs of school papers and yearbooks, members of music groups. Table 2 reports the breakdown by school size of the mean number of activities engaged in by high school seniors during their four years of school attendance.

Table 2

School Size-Class	Senior Class Size Mean	Mean Number of Activities per School for 4 years
1	8	21.5
2	17	15.0
3	24	18.5
4	51	16.5
5	84	12.3
6	160	11.8
7	182	9.4
8	458	9.1
9	591	9.6

The correlation -- measure of the strength of association -- between school size and the average number of activities reported by seniors is -.51, indicating that there is a strong relationship between school size and average number of activities. Barker and Hall present an interesting sub-analysis of importance. Table 3 presents the per cent of students reporting that they engaged in no activities, in 0,1,2, or 3 activities and those reporting involvement in 21 or more activities. We can thus examine the effect of school size on the upper and lower extremes of participation.

Table 3

Size Range of Schools	Per Cent of Students Reporting 0 Activities	Per Cent of Students Reporting 0,1,2,3, Activities	Per Cent of Students Reporting 21 or more
34-100	1.2	5.5	44.2
104-150	0.5	7.8	34.2
211-474	5.5	20.6	23.5
618-2,287	10.9	26.7	14.2

Barker and Hall conclude:

> ...that the Seniors of the small schools reported more activities than the Seniors of the large schools by a factor of over two to one. This confirms data on interschool events, though the magnitude of the school size difference is less and there is no evidence that the smallest schools were deficient with respect to total extracurricular activities, as they were with respect to interschool events. (Barker and Gump, p. 71)

A further issue is the extent to which school size is associated with versatility -- i.e., the number of different kinds of activities engaged in. Table 4 reports the mean versatility scores for the various school sizes.

Table 4

School Size-Class	Mean Versatility Score	Per Cent of Seniors Reporting 5 or more kinds of Activities
1	4.78	53
2	4.29	41
3	4.24	48
4	3.15	21
5	2.81	11
6	2.99	12
7	2.73	10
8	2.39	3
9	2.17	4

The correlation between school size and mean versatility score is .93, i.e., the smaller the school the more versatile the students.

Barker and Hall's final conclusion is clear, direct and unequivocal:

> We were impressed to find this clear evidence of greater participation in school activities by small school students than by large school students in all the public records available to us. The differences were so great as to suggest not only that they were statistically significant differences but that they pointed to a different way of student life in small and large schools. (Barker and Gump, p. 74)

Participation in Nonclass Settings

Paul Gump and Wallace Frieson (in Barker and Gump, 1964) conducted an analysis of the relation between school size and the degree of penetration on nonclass settings -- i.e., the depth of involvement by students in the activities with which they were affiliated. The rationale for this analysis is the following:

> When enrollments of schools increase, the numbers of their settings do not increase proportionately. This failure of numbers of settings to keep pace with numbers of persons results in more persons being available per setting... a minimum number of important functionaries is required to operate settings of a given type. As more persons become available above this minimum, there is a reduction in forces setting functions. In a large school, students are exposed to long sequences of settings with relatively large numbers of inhabitants. It is therefore predicted that such students, on the average, will engage in comparatively few behaviors that are important to these settings. In small schools, students continually participate in settings that have few inhabitants, that are undermanned; as a result there are strong pressures on and invitations to these small school students to penetrate these settings, to take over significant tasks.
>
> (Barker and Gump, p.76)

This particular analysis focused on one large and four small schools. Behavior settings were categorized and a four level scale of penetration was developed, ranging from 1 equaling "A customer, ordinary member, or part of an audience in a setting" to 4 equaling "Performer in the central activity; subject was directly involved in the maintenance or control of the setting" (Barker and Gump, p.82)

The results of the analysis were the findings that:

1. "The median number of Juniors in each setting...(in the large school)...was over three times as great as the median number in small school settings." (Barker and Gump, p.82)

2. "...large school Juniors entered and participated, on some level, in six more settings than did the small school Juniors." (Barker and Gump, p. 82)

3. " "...the large school Juniors entered settings as audience persons or as members only with much greater frequency than small school Juniors...the Juniors in the small schools held responsible positions with more than twice the frequency of the large school Juniors...the small school

Juniors held high-level performances six times as frequently as did large school Juniors." (Barker and Gump, p.86) The results indicated that these effects obtained over all kinds of nonclass settings -- not merely in athletics where rules require a specific number of persons for the activity to operate at all. It was found that in general girls were more active in nonclass settings than were boys and that the brighter students were more active than the intellectually less competent students.

The overall conclusion of the authors is that:

> This study has demonstrated that a large school provides a somewhat larger number and wider variety of nonclass activities than a small school. But in spite of specific large school advantages in the variety of settings, the small school makes the same general kinds of activities available to its students. Moreover, the small school provides a higher proportion of settings to the number of students...
>
> (Barker and Gump, p.92)

As a result of the small school's provision of a higher proportion of settings to the number of students, there is more widespread leadership, engaging in responsible and important activity, and greater variety of participation among small school students.

Satisfactions Derived from Nonclass Settings

Paul Gump and Wallace Friesen (in Barker and Gump, 1964) performed an analysis designed to test the hypotheses that small school students derive different kinds of "satisfaction" from their participation in nonclass settings. due to the differences in depth and variety of such participation. A sub-project studied the reports of high school Juniors from some of the schools included in the overall investigation. Data were collected concerning the types of "satisfactions" derived from activities the students reportedly participated in. Based on these data obtained from open-ended interviews, a series of categories of satisfactions was designed. Differences in the kinds of satisfactions reported as a function of school size were found in several important areas. Table 5 presents an abridged version of a table presented by Gump and Friesen including some forty types of satisfactions reported by students. Table 5 includes those ones which there were differences as a function of school size as well as several important areas in which no differences were found.

Table 5

Type of Satisfaction	Instances Among Small School Juniors	Instances Among Large School Juniors
Competence: some kind of capacity maintenance or improvement achieved through experience in the setting	37	4
Big Action and Test: satisfactions derived from having participated in the challenging aspects of a setting or group, having met the test	92	30
Action Valence: liking for the activity engaged in; more specific kind of satisfaction not indicated	47	26

Table 5 continued

	Small School	Large School
Action Group Affiliation: Being part of an organized group; satisfaction in functioning together	23	3
Be Valued: Being in the focus of attention, a status person, receiving an honor or prize	14	3
Uplift: Assistance toward higher moral or cultural values. Settings were sometimes said to provide appreciation of books or art, or to offer spiritual rewards	10	2
Vicarous Enjoyment: "observer satisfaction" often derived from witnessing events	44	87
Large Entity Affiliation (Crowd and School): Attachment to, or the immersion in, large groups, a "herd" feeling with no evidence of personal or face-to-face relationships; feeling a bond with the school awakened; enjoyment of the pride and vigor of school spirit	6	26
Milieu Knowledge: Learning "who's who" or "what's what" within the school	1	10
Points: Extrinsic satisfaction through credits for attendance or service	0	5
Learn-About: learnings that are more in the nature of new awareness than of capacity improvement; involving social relationships and human nature, developing skills and talents related to hobbies and activities, developing new knowledge	48	39
Novelty: novelty or escape from the usual; enjoyment of new events, places, etc.; meeting new people, etc.	51	42
Informal Affiliation: Companionship, fun with others, conversation	22	28
Unspecified Valence: Satisfaction with setting seems clear but not specific; the vicarious-action distinction is uncertain	31	29

There are marked differences between small and large school students in the kind of satisfactions reported from participation in school settings. Gump and Friesen conducted a sub-analysis which confirmed the hypothesis that it was the fact that in smaller schools persons were needed to fill central positions in activities as opposed to the large schools where there were not enough central positions to "go around" that resulted in the different pattern of reports of satisfactions. For those large school students who *were* deeply and widely involved in activities the reports of satisfactions derived from those experiences paralleled the overall small school pattern. The more central the position the more the satisfactions were ones relating to competence, activity, participation, being valued, etc.; the more peripheral the participation the more the "herd feeling" and vicarious enjoyment satisfactions were reported. Gump and Friesen conclude: "Most of the school size differences in satisfactions can be explained by reference to the degree to which large and small school students occupied different behavior setting positions." (Barker and Gump, p. 112)

The investigators conclude this aspect of the research with the following statement:

> The question might be raised: Which school size provides the "better" nonclass experiences for its Junior inhabitants? To the extent that one believes that the satisfactions related to competence, challenge, activity and group affiliation are better than those related to vicarious enjoyment and to large entity affiliation -- to this extent, small school Juniors reported better experiences than did large school Juniors.
>
> (Barker and Gump, p.114)

In terms of an analysis of alienation as opposed to social identity, the answer seems clear. The small school promoted the kind of experiences which build positive social identify whereas the large school appears to foster alienation and alienating patterns of behavior.

Forces Toward Participation in Behavior Settings

Edwin Willems (in Barker and Gump, 1964) conducted another sub-analysis of importance and interest. The nature and intensity of forces toward participation -- pushes and pulls from peers and teachers in the school -- were examined. Juniors were interviewed about the "reasons or pulls" they felt toward taking part in behavior settings. A series of comparable settings was considered for students from small and large schools. Two groups of students from each school size were included: 1) "regular students" and 2) "marginal students." The regular students were those progressing normally through academic levels in the school and who were expected to graduate. The marginal students were those who fulfilled five requirements: 1) low IQ, 2) poor academic performance as indicated by grades, 3) father in a non-professional occupation, 4) father did not finish high school, and 5) mother did not finish high school. In the authors' view, "These variables identified students who were presumably less suited for academic and school life; they were the marginal students..." (Gump and Friesen, p.117). Through interviewing and standardized choice responses a series of indices of the strength of forces pulling the student into activities was investigated. The investigators offer the following description of the results:

> We find here, as was found in the data on participation... that the large school had a sizable group of "outsiders" not found in the small schools....It appears that the small school environments, made up of relatively underpopulated behavior settings, produced less discrimination between the two kinds of students (regular and marginal) we studied than the large school environment, made up of relatively overpopulated settings. According to the reports of the students, "everyone" in the small schools felt that he had a chance at the rewards provided by the settings and that the settings, and the other persons in them, needed his contribution.
>
> (Barker and Gump, p. 123)

The same pattern was found between the schools in the pattern of responsibility responses as was found in the case of participation pulls. "Students in the small schools gave more responses indicative of acceptance of responsibility than did students of the large school." (Barker and Gump p. 123) The large school showed discrimination between "regular" and "marginal" students on all indices employed by the investigators, whereas the small school either did not show such discrimination or showed it to a much smaller degree. The order of students on all the indices was 1) small school regular students, 2) small school marginal students, 3) large school regular students, 4) large school marginal students.

The authors offer the following set of principles based on these findings:

1. "...behavior settings contain valent, attractive opportunities for involvement. When manpower diminishes, there will be more such opportunities, or higher valence, per person, and individuals will experience more own forces, or attractions, toward participation."

2. "...behavior settings have functions the carrying out of which imposes obligations on the inhabitants. There are, then, manpower requirements necessary to meet the obligations and thus keep the settings functioning properly. When available manpower falls below the requirements, each remaining person will be the locus of more of the settings obligations. Individuals will then perceive the necessity of their own, and others' participation to avoid crippling the setting. There will be more invitations, demands, and requirements to take part."

3. "...there will be differences in behavior coupled with these effects of differences in the ecological environment upon forces toward partcipation in underpopulated settings. Individuals in underpopulated settings who might otherwise attend only to watch or participate peripherally will be pressed into service in important functions...more often; they will have a larger share of

responsibility for the setting and will experience more feelings of responsibility and obligation."

4. "...in underpopulated settings, persons who might otherwise be seen as unsuitable or marginal will also be pressed into service, and experience forces toward participation; there will be less discrimination according to kind of person." (Barker and Gump, pp. 132-133)

As the authors point out, motivation is not necessarily something which is somehow "inside" the individual. Rather, it is largely the result of the shape of the ecological environment. The "marginal" students in the large school were motivated to behavior in very different patterns than those from the small school. The impact of such differences in behavior on personality development and the development of social identity and "good citizenship" is cited by the investigators.

Overview and Prospects: Conclusion of Big School, Small School

Paul Gump and Roger Barker provide an integrative summary of the results of the investigation and the conclusions which may be drawn.

1. "The large school had authority: its grand exterior dimensions, its long halls and myriad rooms, and its tides of students all carry the implication of power and rightness. The small school lacks such certainty: its modest building, its short halls, and few rooms, and its students, who move more in trickles than in tides, given an impression of a casual or not quite decisive educational environment.

   These are outside views. They are illustrations. Inside views reveal forces at work stimulating and compelling students to more active and responsible contributions to the enterprises of small than large schools. The inside views also show that the small school does not lack as many parts as enrollment alone would imply." (Barker and Gump, p.195)

2. "Part-time and summer employment in business and professional behavior settings and responsible participation in church and out-of-school social organizations are widely believed to have educational

value. These community activities were more frequent for the small-school town adolescents than for the large school-cit adolescents. In these respects the differences were clearer for the boys than for the girls. In general, the schools and communities were harmonious: the small communities, like the small schools, provided positions for functional importance for adolescents more frequently; and the cities, like the large schools, provided such positions less frequently. The data provide no evidence that the urban environments of the large schools compensated by means of their greater resources and familities for the relatively meager functional importance of students within their large schools."
(Barker and Gump, p.198)

3. "Not only the present research, but all other research known to us, indicates that the negative relationship between insitutional size and individual participation is deeply based and difficult, if not impossible to avoid. It may be easier to bring specialized and varied settings to small schools than to raise the level of individual participation in large schools."
(Barker and Gump, p.201)

4. "...How large should a school be?....Although a definite answer to the size question cannot be given, the theory developed here can be helpful in deciding particular issues. It often happens, in these days, that population increase in a given area requires sharply increased high school facilities. One solution to this problem lies in the expansion of the facilities and enrollment of the existing school. Our findings show that among the results of this policy is a decrease in responsible student action and experience. A second solution is the establishment of a number of new small schools, thereby keeping enrollments relatively low. A third approach is the campus school, an arrangment by which students are grouped in semiautonomous units for most studies but are usually provided a school-wide extracurricular program. The campus school provides for repeated contacts between the same teachers and students; this continuity of associates probably leads to closer social bonds. A common-sense theory is that the campus school welds together facility advantages of the large school and the social values of the small school. But the social values of small schools reported in the present research do not rest upon associate continuity; they rest upon low population per setting, a condition difficult

> or impossible to achieve in the school-wide extracurricular programs of large campus schools. A fourth solution, then, would be another arrangement of the campus school, for example, making the separate units autonomous with respect to voluntary activities as well as for most classes...Common-sense theories about schools are not adequate bases for policy decisions. Another example of this is the common-sense assumptions that there is a direct coupling between the facilities or properties of schools and the behavior and experiences of students.... Good facilities provide good experiences only if they are used. The educational process is a subtle and delicate one about which we know little, but surely it thrives on participation, enthusiasm, and responsibility. Our findings posit a negative relationship between school size and individual participation. What seems to happen is that as schools get larger and settings inevitably become more heavily populated, more of the students are less needed; they become superfluous, redundant."
>
> (Barker and Gump, p.202)

Attempts to Replicate and Expand the Findings of Big School, Small School

In the period of eight years since the publication of Big School, Small School in 1964, several studies have been conducted with the aim of replicating and expanding Barker and Gump's results. These studies have provided findings consistent with the empirical and conceptual results of Big School, Small School. We shall review briefly several of these studies.

Baird (1969) replicated Barker and Gump's study of differences between large and small school students in the area of extracurricular activities. His findings parallel those of the earlier study--i.e., that small school students participate in a wider variety of activities and contexts than do large school students. Table 6 summarizes these results.

Table 6

School Size	Percentage of Students Engaging in Various Numbers of Activities				
	0-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10+
100	11.6	13.8	17.9	15.0	41.6
101-400	19.5	14.7	16.1	13.5	36.3
401-1200	28.3	17.2	15.4	12.7	26.3
1201+	31.5	17.2	16.7	12.5	22.1

Wicker (1969) conducted a similar analysis, with similar results. Small school students entered a larger number of school behavior settings and had more "performances"--i.e., positions of responsibility. In an interesting analysis, Wicker analyzed school size effects on "cognitive complexity"--i.e., the extent to which the student sees school experiences from multiple perspectives, in different lights, as having different characteristics. Small school students were found to display greater cognitive complexity with regard to school settings than students from large schools.

Further evidence indicates less unrest as a function of small school size: **Reported by the Henderson Commission.**

Enrollment Size	Percentage of Schools Reporting No Unrest
0-200	84%
201-500	84%
501-1000	64%
1001-2000	30%
2001-3000	0%
3000+	0%

A Ford Foundation Report, A Foundation Goes to School (1972), concluded, on the basis of a review of the effect of Foundation programs in schools throughout the country, that "Small schools changed faster than large ones." This greater flexibility was attributed to the greater impact of individuals upon policy and structure. This individual impact had the effect of making the long term consequences of innovation more dependent upon the continued activity and presence of the individual leader, however. Small schools appear to be more "personal" in all ways.

Summary of C. Turner and M. Thrasher, School Size Does Make a Difference

Turner and Thrasher's report is an attempt to organize the available information bearing on the question, "What is the optimal size for high schools given financial efficiency, psychological development and educational quality?" (p.1)

The report presents the following answers to their question:

1. There is evidence that large high schools contribute to depersonalization of students and reduced sense of identification with the school:

> "From many quarters comes evidence that a syndrome of depersonalization has developed in the large high school. Several factors may contribute to the problem. For one, administrator to teacher ratios are high. Conant found also far fewer schools over 1500 in population had a favorable counselor-pupil ratio (1-350 or less) than was true with smaller schools. Teacher to pupil ratios are also higher in the large school, according to Conant's findings." (p.7)
>
> "A student's sense of identification with a school enrolling thousands is undoubtedly weaker than it might be when he is counted as a larger fraction of the whole." (Kleinert, 1969)

2. Participatory and leadership experiences per student decline as school size increases:

> "As schools attain an enrollment of around 700 or 800 pupils they appear to provide most of the activities of schools but offer students many more opportunities to participate. A decline of opportunity for participation begins somewhere around 800 with a gradual shallow decline until around 1500 pupils when 'only a slight drop in the magnitide of student involvement was distinguishable in schools after they pass the 1500 student level.' (Kleinert, 1969). Apparently, by the time the student body reaches 1500, the large school phenomena of semi-detachment has been established for many of the students." (p.13)
>
> "Kleinert found that the proportionate number of student leaders decreases also as schools of the sample grow larger. So ironically, the large school not only pushes the marginal students to the outside, it also discourages the development of leadership among students. (p.23 citing Kleinert, p.39)

3. Academic performance of students once they reach college does not appear to be adversely affected by attendance at small high schools.

> Gray (1962) "found no significant difference in grade point average earned by college freshman from the various size schools." (p.24)

4. Although there has been growing support for the "school-within-a school" approach to the school size problem, such efforts have been hampered by resistance to providing the full range of extra-curricular activities which appear to be critical to the small school's value as a counter to alienation:

> "Concern about the depersonalization of the relationship among students and between student and teacher in the large secondary schools was given rise to a trend toward "the school-within-a-school (Douglass, 1962). To maximize this, however, there should be four bands, four varsity teams in each sport, and in other words, a complete set of extracurricular activities for each of the schools within a school. It is difficult to visualize that this recommendation will be readily embraced by even those inclined to do something about expanding opportunities for students.
>
> Many pressures would be exerted to keep one football team etc., in order to win more games. Such a recommendation could be made, however, out of a firm conviction that this is what is needed if we are to effectively revise the organizational arrangement in large urban and suburban high schools to provide extracurricular participation potential for all students." (p.125)

5. Success in reducing alienation and disruption has been reported by those schools which have attempted to reduce size via programs of decentralization and subdivision.

> "The faculty of one high school nearing 3000 pupils in enrollment, was distressed about the number of persistent problems of pupil behavior that had been developing. Pupils involved in such cases were subject to long-term suspension or expulsion. In the year prior to decentralization, 120 such cases were handled. The faculty felt, that the schools'size and the supervision of student control by a few administrators, who could not know the students, contributed to the amount of misbehavior. For these and other reasons they formed little schools, placing student control among administrators within each unit. During that year only nine major cases arose, despite an enrollment increase." (p.16) (Plath, 1965, p.20)

6. Despite the assumption that larger schools are more economical, evidence exists to indicate that there is a fiscally optimal size:

> "When enrollment swells, or after consolidation, there is a tendency or at least a temptation to assume that financial obligations to underwrite the cost of an individual student will be much less. Actually, the opposite should occur. As the enrollment climbs, for whatever reason, there is more need for a determined effort to meet the obligation of overcoming the large school's negative impact on students." (p.28)

> "Clifford Smith (1961) did one of the more precise studies of cost per pupil. He used several cost factors: 1) Cost per pupil for professional staff salaries, 2) Cost per pupil for administration and special service personnel, and 3) Cost per pupil per educational opportunity. In addition to cost factors, the study considered pupil factors, teacher factors, administrator and institutional factors. These findings showed that when all factors are considered, 800 to 1200 is the proper size range in enrollment at which the favorable factors approach the maximum including costs. His data also indicated that schools of fewer than 200 pupils are having to pay a premium and still have an inferior program. From 200 on up cost and program advantages of a majority of the factors increase as school size increases up to the 800 to 1200 range, after which, little if anything is gained and disadvantages on most factors begin to appear." (p.30)

> "School size has often been influenced by financial considerations with the impression that cost effectiveness is equated with large size. The evidence cited clearly indicates that cost per pupil in the very small school is greater with the rate decreasing until the size of the school approximates 1000 students. After that point, the educational effectivenss, as well as cost effectiveness, begins to decrease." (p.39)

7. The report is able to offer a concrete suggestion regarding optimal high school size:

> "Evidence weights heavily toward keeping school enrollment in a given unit to range between 700 and 1000 students." (p.38)

Relation of School Size to Drop-out Rate:

Based on our analysis of the effects of school size on student behavior and attitude we have examined the relation of school size and drop out rate. Our assumption in this matter is that drop out rate is an indication of alienation. Dropping out is, of course, a very concrete form of alienation -- i.e., it is formally "not belonging." At the same time, it should be recognized that dropping out is a phenomenon which seems to be related to socio-economic factors. That is, dropping out has not traditionally been a mode of expression appropriate to the middle class adolescent. Rather, it has generally been the lower class and poor adolescent who has dropped out of high school. Our assumption in this matter, then, is that we must control for the effects of socio-economic factors in our attempt to relate school size to dropping out. The present analysis does this.

We have drawn on data from the Fleischman Report (1972) on drop out rates reported by counties, from information supplied by the New York State Education Department on school enrollments, and from the U.S. Census reports on socio-economic indicators. From these data, we have been able to derive an analysis of the relation between the drop out rate in a county to the percentage of students in that county going to large high schools, i.e., enrollment greater than 1000 students. For the reasons discussed above, we have controlled for the relation between socio-economic status -- in this case measured by median (i.e., average) income -- and drop out rate (a relation expressed by a correlation of -.37, i.e., the higher the income the lower the drop out rate). On the basis of this analysis the following results obtain:

> The correlation between drop out rate, and percent in schools 1000+ (controlling for median income) by county is +.35 (as percent goes up, drop out rate goes up).

School Size in New York State

Given the importance attached to school size in research reviewed thus far, we have undertaken an analysis of patterns of school size in New York State. Based on data supplied by the State Education Data Systems Department, New York State Education Department, the frequency of various school sizes at three grade levels has been determined. Because of the format of the information, our analysis allows us to answer the following question: "What percentage of schools in the State containing third, seventh and eleventh grade students are of each size category?" The Statewide table provides the following information:

Size Category	Percentage of Schools for Three Grade Levels		
	3rd	7th	11th
0-100	2%	4%	3%
101-200	7	10	11
201-400	18	22	21
401-600	25	12	8
601-800	23	12	8
801-1000	12	11	6
1001-1400	7	15	12
1401-1800	4	9	11
1801-2500	1	3	8
2501+	0	0	10

Collapsed Category Summary: Schools per Category

0-600	52%	51%	47%
601-1400	40	38	28
1401+	5	12	29

If we look at these categories in terms of the percentage of total students--- as opposed to schools -- in each size grouping we obtain the following results. (Results are estimated on the basis of average sizes within categories.)

0-600	23%	22.5%	15%
601-1400	56	50	26
1401+	21	27.5	59

Appendix F provide breakdowns for each region in the State.

NEW YORK STATE - TOTAL

Grade	0-100	%	100-200	%	200-400	%	400-600	%	600-800	%	800-1000	%	1000 1400	%	1400 1800	%	1800 2500	%	2500 more	%
(3008) 3	60	2	221	7	550	18	759	25	699	23	346	12	224	7	127	4	21	1	1	0
(1088) 7	39	4	110	10	239	22	158	15	127	12	124	11	159	15	102	9	28	3	2	0
(843) 11	27	3	90	11	174	21	98	12	64	8	50	6	102	12	92	11	65	8	81	10

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Region			0-100	%	100 200	%	200 400	%	400 600	%	600 800	%	800 1000	%	1000 1400	%	1400 1800	%	1800 2500	%	2500 more	%
Binghamton																						
	99	3	4	4	19	19	20	20	23	23	28	28	4	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	53	7	4	8	14	26	14	26	9	17	5	9	5	9	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	0
	45	11	3	7	14	3	14	3	6	13	2	4	2	4	3	7	1	2	0	0	0	0
Buffalo																						
	325	3	4	1	35	11	85	26	101	31	68	21	20	6	11	3	1	3	0	0	0	0
	119	7	2	2	9	8	39	33	17	14	15	13	16	13	12	10	8	7	1	8	0	0
	89	11	1	1	6	7	18	20	13	15	2	2	6	7	18	20	9	10	13	15	3	3
Capital District																						
	194	3	8	4	25	13	66	34	58	30	25	13	10	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	86	7	5	6	11	13	29	34	13	15	10	12	12	14	4	5	2	2	0	0	0	0
	61	11	3	5	8	13	24	39	10	16	5	8	1	2	3	5	2	3	5	8	0	0
Elmira																						
	111	3	0	0	27	24	34	31	26	23	23	21	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	58	7	1	2	17	29	18	31	7	12	8	14	6	10	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	110	11	1	1	17	15	16	15	6	5	4	4	0	0	4	4	4	4	0	0	0	0
Long Island																						
	540	3	10	2	17	3	61	11	148	27	202	37	74	14	26	5	2	3	0	0	0	0
	152	7	4	3	6	4	9	6	9	6	27	18	24	16	51	34	16	11	5	3	1	1
		11	2	2	2	22	5	5	2	2	11	11	10	10	24	24	20	20	15	15	9	9
Mid-Hudson																						
	178	3	3	2	16	9	48	27	49	26	44	25	12	7	4	2	2	1	0	0	0	0
	89	7	1	1	9	11	30	36	14	17	6	7	7	8	14	17	3	4	0	0	0	0
	63	11	1	2	7	11	18	29	7	11	9	14	5	8	9	14	3	5	3	5	1	2

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Region		0-100	%	100-200	%	200-400	%	400-600	%	600-800	%	800-1000	%	1000-1400	%	1400 1800	%	1800 2500	%	2500 more	%
Mohawk Valley	130 56 47	10 5 3	8 9 6	21 10 9	16 18 19	39 19 13	30 34 28	38 12 7	29 21 15	18 3 5	14 5 11	3 2 4	2 4 9	1 4 3	1 7 6	0 1 2	0 2 4	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 2
New York City	621 180 102	4 11 5	1 6 5	5 9 3	1 5 3	24 3 2	4 2 2	66 3 0	11 2 0	128 6 1	21 3 1	139 10 1	22 6 1	174 52 7	29 29 7	59 63 8	10 35 8	21 22 14	3 12 14	1 1 61	2 1 61
Northern	132 68 69	13 4 4	10 6 6	19 15 15	14 22 22	59 23 21	45 34 30	21 16 17	16 22 25	13 6 5	10 9 7	6 3 4	5 4 6	1 1 1	1 1 1	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Rochester	198 95 79	1 1 0	1 1 0	15 2 3	8 2 4	29 26 26	15 27 32	66 23 12	33 24 15	58 21 9	291 21 11	23 15 4	12 15 5	4 6 15	2 6 19	2 1 5	1 1 6	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 2	0 0 3
Rockland Westchester	219 72 58	1 1 0	1 1 0	12 4 2	5 6 3	45 11 5	21 15 9	91 19 8	42 26 14	59 10 6	27 14 10	11 12 9	5 17 16	0 10 10	0 14 17	0 5 10	0 7 17	0 0 6	0 0 10	0 0 2	0 0 3
Syracuse	172 65 52	2 0 0	1 0 0	10 4 4	6 6 8	40 18 13	23 28 25	72 16 10	42 25 19	33 10 5	19 15 10	13 12 4	8 18 8	1 3 5	1 5 10	1 2 4	1 3 8	0 0 5	0 0 10	0 0 2	0 0 4

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D. The "Overdetermination" of Alienation in New York City

"Overdetermination" is a principle suggested by Freud to describe the finding that many -- if not most -- important human phenomena are the result of multiple, complementary causes -- as opposed to a single factor. If we consider the case of alienation in New York City schools, we may see an almost classic case of "overdetermination."

It would appear that the following factors conspire to produce alienation in New York City:

1. Socio-economic factors and academic failure: The relation between socio-economic factors and academic failure is considered above. Reports of the Fleischmann Commission indicate New York City is the location of by far the highest rates of academic failure. The concentration of socio-economically disadvantaged groups parallels this locus of academic difficulty.

2. School size: New York City has the highest proportion of students in large and very large schools of all regions in the State. Given the interaction between high school size and being a "marginal student" reported by Barker and Gump -- i.e., the effects of school size are most serious for the academically marginal student -- alienation related to effects of school size may be expected to be greatest in the New York City area.

3. Patterns of enrollment: The Fleischmann Commission concludes that while enrollment throughout the State may be expected to decline or remain constant in the next decades in New York City, the opposite is the case. Continuing pressure on the physical facilities makes it more difficult to divert attention to the issue of "quality."

4. School-Community Relations: There is evidence that school-community relations are most severely disrupted in the New York City area. The evidence indicates that school-community relations are precisely the vehicle that can and must be used to enhance academic development.

5. Violence increased at least 57.4°/o during the year 1971 in New York City schools. (Henderson Report #3, p. xii) In sum, it would appear that New York City is the region in which remedial action to combat alienation may be most important, yet, hardest to accomplish.

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IV. Recommendations:

A. Concerning Academic Failure

B. Concerning School-Community Relations

C. Concerning School Size

D. Concerning Other Aspects of the Relation of Educational Institutions to Alienation

Introduction

If we may for the moment adopt a metaphor, our concern is with the "web" of social relationships within and around the school and students. Our analysis has focused on the ways in which this web is in need of repair. In some instances, the web has been rent by general social disruption; in others, it simply has not been spun. Our analysis suggests that without this social web, a number of deleterious consequences obtain. The "academic" program suffers, social disruption within the schools increases, and the social order is threatened.

The underlying theme of our recommendations, is the spinning of social webs to enmesh and imbed the school and the student in the social life of the community and polity. Such a web-spinning may be expected to ameliorate the conditions of alienation which have been discussed above. The principle upon which the recommendations are based, is that it is necessary to enmesh the individual in enduring patterns of reciprocal interaction with social agents and contexts in order that he develop a sense of social identity. Further, it is asserted that such interaction provides the basis for competence as well as identity. Thus, the individual is both motivated to belong and aided in obtaining the skills and characteristics needed for membership.

These recommendations are addressed to the State Legislature as "guardians of the polity and the general welfare of the community."

Special Note on Drug Abuse

The problem of drug abuse by the youth of the State is of critical concern, as it is increasingly in Western industrial societies(Glatt, 1972). Programs designed to deal with this abuse, have been largely ineffective -- i.e., drug abuse continues and increases throughout the adolescent population of the State. (Henderson Commission Report, #2) In our view, these programs -- often referred to as "drug education" programs -- cannot succeed because they are predicated upon the assumption that the target population is listening to them. In our view, this assumption is incorrect. As a recent analyst of the drug culture and drug experiences (Weil, 1972) has pointed out, drug experiences are best understood as part of a more general interest in states of "extraordinary consciousness." Such states correspond to what have in other times and contexts been termed "mystical experiences," "transcendence," and "psychic ecstacy." The drug user, for the most part, is engaged in efforts to achieve such states of "extraordinary consciousness" because a) such states are exciting and pleasurable, and b) such states represent an attractive alternative to unsatisfying states of normal or ordinary consciousness. Educational campaigns aimed at drug use cannot deal with the attractiveness of extraordinary consciousness because a) they do not detract from the experiences of the user, and b) they do not alter the social experience of the user to make normal or ordinary consciousness more attractive. Thus, conventional educational campaigns do not bear on either sources of the motivation to engage in drug use. They do not alter either the world of the "high" or the "real" world, which is experienced as a "down." Drug abuse is associated with a negative view of family relations -- e.g., as being not "close" -- and of the near social environment in general (Streit and Oliver, 1972). Lower school grades and less participation in activities are also associated with drug abuse (Smart, 1970). To combat drug abuse -- which undoubtedly has deleterious social and individual consequences -- it is necessary to promote a social environment which is in and of itself attractive, which can compete with the "high" world of extraordinary consciousness. To do this it is necessary to combat alienation, to develop a sense of belonging and attachment to social agents and agencies. Such a sense of social identity is a necessary counterweight to the attractiveness of the "other world."

It is only when the audience is "listening" to drug education programs -- i.e., is tied in socially and thus motivated to refrain from socially and individually destructive patterns of behavior -- that such programs are prone to succeed. Drug abuse -- which we shall define as the use of drugs in ways that are socially and individually dangerous and disruptive -- can thus be dealt with. Given the extreme attractiveness of extraordinary consciousness -- e.g., as achieved via the use of alchohol and meditation -- it is unlikely that the use of drugs can be rationalized out of existence. It is the case, however, that if a strong sense of social identity is present, drug abuse can be curtailed.* We, therefore, offer as our major recommendation concerning the problem of drug abuse that our recommendations concerning the overall syndrome of alienation is implemented.

*Note:

It appears that the states of "extraordinary consciousness" can be achieved through meditation. It has further been reported (Benson & Wallace, 1972) that persons entering into programs of "Transcendental Meditation" evidence a sharp decrease in the use of all "external" stimulants including cigarettes and alchohol as well as psychoactive drugs. As evidence in this matter accumulates, it may provide the basis for systematically introducing Transcendental Meditation as well as other programs ... experiences of ecstacy... into both the therapeutic programs and conventional curriculum of the State's educational and Social Service System, as well as other programs which encourage an intense sense of commitment plus experiences of ecstacy.

A. Concerning Academic Failure

One of the major sources of frustration among teachers, administrators, parents and students in recent years has been the persistence of academic failure in the face of extensive and elaborate remedial programs. The disparity between rhetoric and results has been great. The problem penetrates to the heart of the process by which "Alienation follows frustration." The need to ameliorate academic deficits has been noted by the Henderson Commission as a major component in dealing with problems associated with busing to achieve racial balance.

> There must be a commitment and activity to raise the academic level of the now substandard schools. These schools will then be able to serve the students transported to them as they prepare the local students for transportation into other areas. (Commission Report #3, p.32)

There is evidence to indicate that the socioeconomic characteristics of the individual student's family and the community which the school serves are very strongly associated with academic development. Research reported by Bronfenbrenner (1973) indicates that the major academic deficits associated with socio-economic status appear to a large extent not during the school year, but during the summer when the student from upper socioeconomic backgrounds holds his own or continues to progress, while the student from lower socioeconomic backgrounds experiences deterioration of academic competence. Findings such as these, have led some investigators (Jencks, 1972) to conclude that the schools "don't count," i.e., are impotent to affect the academic development of students in any significant manner. In this view, student background characteristics are all determining and immutable to change via educational policy and practice.

Bronfenbrenner (1973) has conducted a review of programs designed to combat academic failure. This review -- which deals with pre-school programs aimed at preventing failure by generating basic skills and orientations prior to initiation of formal elementary school study as well as programs at the elementary school level -- concludes with a comprehensive program to reduce academic failure, Bronfenbrenner cites evidence to indicate that programs which aim at enhancing parent-child interaction during the pre-school period and at the elementary level, parental support for the school's academic programs promise success in combatting academic failure. Appendix A provides an extensive excerpt from Bronfenbrenner's report. The gist of this program of recommendations is that the operation of the schools as academic development centers is dependent upon the necessary condition of parental and community support. Once this necessary condition is met -- and there is evidence to suggest that it is not met in settings characterized by socioeconomic disadvantage and/or racial and ethnic discrimination -- the schools can go about their business of academic development. Our recommendation, therefore, is that the programs of parent-child interaction and community and parental support for academic activities discussed by Bronfenbrenner, receive support from the State. The Legislature can provide aid in the establishment and maintenance of such programs in areas of the State in which academic failure and socioeconomic disadvantage are prevalent. Furthermore, efforts aimed at directly upgrading the socioeconomic status of individuals and groups within the State may be seen in the light of their effects upon academic development of children. That is, as the conditions of life -- socially and economically -- for the families in the State are enhanced the academic development of their children will likewise be enhanced. With this enhanced academic development will come a reduction of alienation in the schools.

We therefore, recommend that the Legislature adopt an "ecological" view concerning academic failure. To improve the school performance of the children of the State, it will be necessary to deal constructively with the social and economic conditions in which those children live. Once the supporting conditions are adequately met, the schools will be able to "count" in the academic development

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of the children thus affected. Coordination of "social" and "economic" programs with "educational" programs appears to operate in fact and should, therefore, be recognized in State policy and programming.

B. Concerning School-Community Relations

The web of social relations binding school to community and imbedding the life of the former in the day-to-day experience of the latter may be fostered by implementing the following recommendations:

1. Children in the world of adult work on a day-to-day basis: By promoting the adoption of children's groups -- e.g., classes or entire schools -- by adult work groups a system of social ties would be facilitated. Under such an arrangement -- described by Bronfenbrenner (1972) -- there is mutual visitation, group activities, and a regular program of events designed to enhance enduring patterns of reciprocal interaction among the children and adults. The group adopted would maintain the association over an extended period of time so as to maximize the degree to which the program enhanced a sense of identification and social identity.

Two kinds of legislative action are appropriate to the task of implementing such programs: 1) Use of State facilities and personnel: The Legislature can encourage the adoption of children's groups throughout the State by State employee groups. At every level of State government -- perhaps starting with the Legislature itself -- contacts should be initiated with educational institutions -- elmentary and secondary schools, day care and Head Start centers, etc. Such action by the State government would in and of itself facilitate the development of social identity among those children's groups "adopted," as well as set a "good example" for other governmental and private institutions. (It should be noted that a previous investigation of such action indicates that

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adults participating in the program should receive a period of orientation concerning the purposes and goals of such adoption programs prior to the initiation of contact with the children (Garbarino, 1972). Failure to provide such an orientation program may compromise the goals of the project and engender mutual misunderstanding and resentment). 2) Tax Incentives for Private Institutions: In order to encourage participation, private institutions -- most notably business and industry -- a system of tax incentives for group adoption should be extablished. Such a program would provide direct financial support to business and industrial settings which engaged in adoption of children's groups. Regulation of this program could be handled through the State Education Department.

2. The elderly in roles of responsibility with children: Involvement of the elderly in the schools should be a matter of high priority. Elderly persons can function in the role of "foster grandparents" for school classes. In this role, they may provide both direct assistance in a teacher-aide function and a "humanizing" force in the school as a whole. Such persons can broaden the base of the child's social identity and link together student, teacher and "foster grandparent" generations. Such a program may be expected to combat alienation among the elderly as well as among the young. Appendix B (1) reports the results of one program aimed at involving the elderly in child development roles.

Legislative action may be taken to 1) provide formal support for direct relationships between schools and Senior Citizens groups and other groups representing elderly persons; 2) provide funds to financially support the hiring of elderly persons in "foster grandparent" roles.

3. Support for community participation in decision making and planning: An integral part of any program to enhance school-community relations involves a comprehensive effort to involve citizens at every level of educational programming. It is particularly important, however, that such citizen participation be facilitated at the neighborhood level.

4. The school as family and neighborhood center: Support is needed for the concept and implementation of the school as a family and neighborhood center. Such a program would involve centralization of community and family services in the school. Legislative adtion is needed to provide support for the "after hours" use of school facilities by parents and children, to coordinate service agencies regarding the location of services in schools, and to encourage the location of activities such as day care centers in the schools. The localization of such activities in the schools would promote patterns of interaction among children -- younger and older -- and between children and adults.

5. Commission for Children and Families:: Bronfenbrenner (1973) offers the following recommendation:

> Such a Commission, established at the community or neighborhood level, would have as its initial charge, finding out what the community is doing, or not doing, for its children and their families. The Commission would examine the adequacy of existing programs such as maternal and child are services, day care facilities, and recreational opportunities. It would also investigate what people and places are available to children when they are not in school, what opportunities they have for play, for challanging activities, or useful work, and to whom they can turn for guidance and assistance. The Commission would also assess the existing and needed resources in the community that provide families with opportunities for learning, living, and leisure that involve common activity across levels of age, ability, knowledge and skill. In order to accomplish its task, the Commission would need to include representatives of the major institutions concerned with children and families, as well as other segments of the community life such as business, industry, and labor. Especially important is inclusion on the Commission of teenagers and older children who can speak directly from their own experiences. The Commission would be expected to report its findings and recommendations to appropriate executive bodies and to the public at large through the mass media. After completing the initial assessment phase, the Commission would assume continued responsibility for developing and monitoring programs to implement its recommendations.
>
> (Bronfenbrenner, 1973, pp.31-32)

The role of educational institutions in such a Commission should be a major one.

6. Community and Neighborhood Planning: Action should be taken to ensure that publically supported housing and school construction facilities social interaction rather than impedes it. To this end, housing projects should not be solely residential, but should include business, commercial and other community social entities. Tax incentives for housing developments which are designed to maximinizing the humanizing consequences of social interacting among adults and children should be made available. Likewise, construction of schools should maximize their relation to the community -- e.g., should be located in close proximity to the places in which adults go about their business and the places in which family and children's services are located. Such an approach involves an "ecological" approach to all social planning. Children and families should be at the heart of all such social policy decision making.

7. The Henderson Commission suggests a program of work-study to involve students in local government and at the same time provide local government with labor resources to meet the various needs they have to offer services to the public. We endorse this recommendation as a means of enhancing school-community relations.

> That state and municipal governments study, with a goal of implementing, a massive effort to develop "world-study-learn" programs to meet their pressing manpower needs in the vital municipal services. In such a program, the students would be learning both at school and away from school, and in many cases, earning so that they could contribute to the payment for their educations. These programs would ideally include student support by the municipality and following commitment to work for the municipality for a given period after graduation.
> (Henderson Commission Report #3, p. 86)

C. Concerning School Size

As has been discussed above, a high priority should be placed on maintaining small high schools throughout the State. School size -- at the high school level, at least -- has shown to be related to alienation. To set up the conditions which lead to the development of social identity -- through leadership, participation and active experience in positions of responsibility -- it appears, therefore, necessary to limit school size. The evidence indicates that this is particularly true with regard to academically marginal students -- those likely to experience academic failure or difficulty. Therefore, the Legislature should encourage ceilings on school size and reduction in size of schools already exceeding the optimal level set by Turner and Thrasher of 700- 1000 students. Support for such reductions will no doubt be needed in the form of fiscal resources. Location of educational institutions within non-school facilities -- which may be shared with private and public institutions -- may both help alleviate the problem of space as well as encourage interaction with non-school adults. The evidence on the effects of size upon behavior suggests that small settings be used routinely as a technique in dealing with students who present academic and social problems. In a sense the effects of size are inversely related to the condition of the individual -- the worse off the individual is, the less he is able to resist the alienating effects of bigness. Reluctance of some schools to decentralize may be expected on the grounds that a big school can support winning athletic teams, impressive accelerated programs and the like. It would appear, however, that such reluctance should be opposed. Action by the Legislature to make uniform size of schools may be necessary to implement this recommendation. It may prove necessary to conduct systematic experimental demonstrations of the effects of decentralization upon alienation prior to attempting a comprehensive reduction of school size across the State. Community involvement in the implementation of this recommendation is, of course, advisable.

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D. Concerning Other Aspects of the Relation of Educational Institutions to Alienation

In addition to the three areas presented above, we see the following recommendations as useful in dealing with the problem of alienation as it relates to educational institutions.

1. Henderson Commission Report Recommendations: Our review of the Henderson Commission Reports has yielded several recommendations which are of particular relevance and merit. These recommendations of the Henderson Commission are consistent with the thrust of our own report, so we include and support them.

A. Commission Report #3 deals with the need for vocational programming (pp. 56-58). The importance of enhancing non-collegiate occupational aspirations is noted. The problem of an ever growing belief that college education is necessary for personal satisfaction and social security and prestige is recognized by the Commission. Both "programmatic" and "cultural" approaches to this problem are indicated. Support for noncollege occupational development is cited as a pressing need. The Commission Report points to the frequent lack of occupational opportunity for those who have been involved in vocational development programs.

> The future is clear. If we do not attack this problem immediately and head-on, we face the danger of over-education and underemployment and the following frustrations. We face the danger, not of a restive school population, but of a society in a constant state of unrest. (Commission Report #3, p.58)

In addition to such "programmatic" needs there is the need for projects to promote public respect for non-collegiate occupations. Such projects should start at the early elementary level and should stress the dignity of community and vocation other than the upper middle class stereotype presented generally by mass media. Appendix E presents the outline of a prototypical projects of this type.

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B. The Commission recommends:

> That the law granting immunity from testifying and prosecution to professionals who receive confidential or privileged communications from clients or patients be extended to include authorized school counselors from whom students with drug problems would seek aid. (Henderson Commission Report #3, p.86)

Such a policy would facilitate the development of confidence and trust within the high school and would thus serve to combat alienation.

C. Given the level of alienation present among groups of students engaged in extreme forms of disruption, it may prove necessary to exclude such offenders from the conventional school setting. The schools may not be equipped -- and perhaps cannot be so equipped without radically altering their function -- to deal with extremely disruptive individuals. We, therefore, support the Commission's recommendations:

> That there be provided a system of psychological and guidance services, particularly for those students who show a constant tendency to be disruptive; with further provision for remedial education facilities in both the public and private sector as is now provided for the physically and mentally handicapped. (Henderson Commission Report #3, p.86)
>
> Amend those laws relative to attendance of students over the age of seventeen years to permit secondary schools to remove from their rolls such students who are disruptive. (Henderson Commission Report #3, p.
>
> Amend the laws controlling the suspension of student below the age of seventeen years to insure expenditious disposal of cases and to provide for the student's placement, where appropriate, in an alternative educational setting with psychological and guidance services. Henderson Commission Report #3, p.

Such recommendations recognize that while dealing with the origins of alienation it is necessary to deal with its more severe and disruptive consequences. Extremely disruptive students tend to distract attention from efforts to deal with the milder but more pervasive symptoms and effects of alienation.

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D. Institutionalizing an "ecological" approach to Developmental Problems: It may prove helpful to establish some regular system by which proposals reaching the State Legislature may be evaluated in terms of their effects upon the "human ecology" of the State. To this end the services of the New York State Assembly Scientific Staff may be employed to provide such a continuing review. An ecologically oriented developmental psychology would appear to provide the scientific basis for such a continuing review. The assistance of other State agencies may be enlisted to implement this developmental "watchdog" function. A State "Office for Children and Families" would provide another appropriate location for such a function.

E. Criteria for Judging the Value of School Programs: In light of our review it would appear that school programs which have a large "social development" component should receive a high priority. Thus, physical education, athletics, music programs and whole range of "extracurricular activities" may be seen as critical and essential features of school programming; not as luxuries, "extras," or "frills." Such programs enhance social identity and thus combat alienation. They are, therefore, an essential part of the educational program of the State's schools.

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Appendix A

Excerpt from Bronfenbrenner, U., Is Early Intervention Effective?, Office of Child Development (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office), 1973.

VIII. Facts and Principles of Early Intervention: A Summary

The conclusions of this analysis are presented in the form of a summary of the research findings and a set of generalizations to which they give rise.

A. Summary of Research Results

1. Preschool Intervention in Group Settings. The results are based on twelve studies involving children ranging in age from one to six. Eight of these researches included comparisons between randomly constituted experimental and control groups. Conclusions regarding program effectiveness are cited only if supported by results from such comparisons.

a) Almost without exception, children showed substantial gains in IQ and other cognitive measures during the first year of the program, attaining or even exceeding the average for their age.

b) Cognitively structured curricula produced greater gains than play-oriented nursery programs.

c) Neither earlier entry into the program (from age one) nor a longer period of enrollment (up to five years) resulted in greater or more enduring cognitive gains.

d) By the first or second year after completion of the program, sometimes while it was still in operation, the children began to show a progressive decline, and by the third or fourth year of follow-up had fallen back into the problem range of the lower 90's and below. Apparent exceptions to this general trend turned out to be faulted by methodological artifacts (e.g., self-selection of families in the experimental group).

e) The period of sharpest decline occurred after the child's entry into regular school. Preliminary data from the Follow-Through program suggest that this decline may be offset by the continuation of intervention programs, including strong parent involvement, into the early grades.

f) The children who profited least from the program, and who showed the earliest and most rapid decline, were those who came from the most deprived social and economic backgrounds. Especially relevant in this regard were such variables as the number of children in the family, the employment status of the head of the household, the level of parents' education, and the presence of only one parent in the family.

g) Results from a number of studies pointed to factors in and around the home as critical to the child's capacity to profit from group programs both in preschool and in the elementary grades. For example, several researches revealed that the greatest loss in cognitive performance of disadvantaged children took place not while they were in school, but over the summer months. During this same period, disadvantaged children living in favorable economic circumstances not only maintained their status but showed significant gains.

2. Home-based Tutoring Programs. The results of the two studies in this area were similar to those for preschool programs in group settings. Children showed dramatic gains in IQ while the project was in operation but began to decline once the home visits were discontinued.

3. Parent-Child Intervention. A total of nine studies, involving children from the first year of life through elementary school, focused simultaneously on parent and child (almost exclusively the mother) as the targets of intervention. In seven of these researches, the principle of random assignment (either of individuals or groups) was employed in the designation of experimental and control subjects. Again conclusions regarding program effectiveness are cited

only when supported by results from comparisons of randomly constituted experimental and control groups.

a) Parent-child intervention resulted in substantial gains in IQ which were still evident three to four years after termination of the program (Gordon 1972, 1973; Levenstein 1972a). In none of the follow-up studies, however, had the children yet gone beyond the first grade.

b) The effects were cumulative from year to year, both during intervention (Levenstein 1972a) and, in some instances, after the program had ended (Gordon 1973, Levenstein 1972a).

c) The magnitude of IQ gain was inversely related to the age at which the child entered the program, the greatest gains being made by children enrolled as one and two year olds (Gilmer, et.al. 1970; Gordon 1972, 1973; Karnes et.al. 1968, 1969a, 1969b, 1970; Levenstein 1972a; Radin 1969, 1972; Stanford Research Institute 1971a, 1971b).

d) Parent intervention was of benefit not only for the target child but also for his younger siblings (Gilmer et.al. 1970; Klaus and Gray 1968, 1970).

e) Gains from parent intervention during the preschool years were reduced to the extent that primary responsibility for the child's development was assumed by the staff member rather than left with the parent, particularly when the child was simultaneously enrolled in a group intervention program (Gilmer et.al. 1970; Karnes et.al. 1969c).

f) By the time the child was five years old, parent intervention appeared to have little effect so far as gains in intellectual development are concerned. But children who were involved in an intensive program of parent intervention during, and, especially, prior to their enrollment in preschool or school, achieved greater and more enduring gains in the group program (Gilmer et.al.

1970; Gordon 1972, 1973; Radin 1969, 1972; Stanford Research Institute 1971a, 1971b; Smith 1968). This effect on group programs did not appear until children were at least three years of age, but was still strongly in evidence in the one project in which parent intervention was continued through the sixth grade (Smith 1968). Thus, from the third year onward, parent intervention seemed to serve as a catalyst for sustaining and enhancing the effects of group intervention.

g) Parent intervention influenced the attitudes and behavior of the mother not only toward the child but in relation to herself as a competent person capable of improving her own situation (Gilmer, et.al. 1970; Gordon 1973; Karnes et.al. 1970).

h) Families willing to become involved in parent intervention programs tended to come from the upper levels of the disadvantaged population. Research findings indicate that, at the most deprived levels, families are so overburdened with the task of survival that they have neither the energy nor the psychological resources necessary to participate in an intervention program involving the regular visit of a stranger to the home (Klaus and Gray 1968; Radin and Weikart 1967).

i) The complexity of findings on the effects of parent intervention prompted a more detailed analysis of the role of parent-child intervention in fostering the child's psychological development. An examination of the research literature (Bronfenbrenner 1968a, 1968b, 1972) indicated that, in the early years of life, the key element was the involvement of parent and child in verbal interaction around a cognitively challenging task. A second critical feature was the fact that the mother not only trained the child but the child also trained the mother. A third factor was the existence of a mutual and enduring emotional attachment between the child and adult. It is by capitalizing on all these elements, by taking as its focus neither the child nor the parent but the parent-child system, that parent intervention apparently achieves its effectiveness and staying power. It is as if the child himself had no way of internalizing the processes which foster his growth, whereas the parent-child system does possess this capability.

j) Along with advantages, parent intervention appears to have serious limitations in terms of its applicability and effectiveness with families at the lowest extreme of the socioeconomic distribution.

4. Ecological Intervention. The research results indicate that for the children from the most deprived groups no strategy of intervention is likely to be effective that focuses attention solely on the child or on the parent-child relationship. The critical forces of destruction lie neither within the child nor within his family but in the desperate circumstances in which the family is forced to live. What is called for is intervention at the ecological level, measures that will effect radical changes in the immediate environment of the family and the child. Only three studies of this kind were found in the research literature (Rehabilitation of Families at Risk for Mental Retardation 1971; Skeels 1966; Skodak and Skeels 1949). The major findings were as follows:

a. Severely disadvantaged children of mothers with IQs well below average (i.e., below 70 or 80) are not doomed to inferiority by unalterable constraints either genetic or environmental.

b. Substantial changes in the environment of the child and his principal caretakers can produce positive developmental changes considerably greater (gains of 25 to 28 IQ points) and more enduring than those achieved by the most effective intervention techniques when the home environment is left essentially unaltered.

c. The processes and effects produced through ecological intervention substantiate the critical role in early development played by an enduring one-to-one relationship involving the child in verbal interaction with an adult around cognitively stimulating activities.

B. Some Principles of Early Intervention

The principles are stated in the form of propositions specifying the elements that appear essential for early intervention programs to be effective. Although derived from results of a substantial number of studies by different researchers, these generalizations should still be regarded as tentative. Even where the supportive findings have been replicated, they are susceptible to alternative interpretations, and the crucial experiments are yet to be done.

To indicate the extent to which each of the following generalizations are supported by research results, we shall label each one by a symbol. The superscript "i" denotes that the conclusion is inferred from the evidence; the superscript "r" means that the generalization is supported by replicated results obtained in two or more well-designed studies described in the main body of this analysis, but that there is need for further research designed specifically to test and refine the proposition in question.

I. General Principles[21]

1. Family Centered Intervention. The evidence indicates that the family is the most effective and economical system for fostering and sustaining the development of the child. The evidence indicates further that the

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[21] The propositions are stated in terms of parent rather than mother alone in the belief that subsequent research will indicate that they apply as well to the father, or any other older member of the household who is prepared to assume a major and continuing responsibility for the care of the child.

involvement of the child's family as an active participant is critical to the success of any intervention program.[r] Without such family involvement, any effects of intervention, at least in the cognitive sphere, appear to erode fairly rapidly once the program ends.[r] In contrast, the involvement of the parents as partners in the enterprise provides an on-going system which can reinforce the effects of the program while it is in operation, and help to sustain them after the program ends.[r]

Ecological Intervention. The first and most essential requirement is to provide those conditions which are necessary for life and for the family to function as a child rearing system.[r] These include adequate health care, nutrition, housing, employment, and opportunity and status for parenthood.[1] These are also precisely the conditions that are absent for millions of disadvantaged families in our country.[r]

To provide the condition necessary for a family to function will require major changes in the institutions of the society and invention of new institutional forms.[1] The results of this analysis offer no guidance on the development of new systems for providing adequate health care, nutrition, housing, or income, but they do suggest strategies for increasing opportunity and social reward for the functions of parenthood. These include extending the number and status of part-time jobs available to disadvantaged parents of young children,[1] establishing more flexible work schedules,[1] introducing parent apprentice programs in the schools to engage older children in supervised care of the young,[1] involving parents in the work of the school,[r] creating patterns of mutual assistance among disadvantaged families living in the same neighborhood,[1] meeting the basic needs of young families, including supervised experience in child care) before they begin to raise children,[1] providing homemaker services,[1] making available insurance to meet family emergencies,[1] and using television as an adjunct to parent-child intervention.[22]

3. A Sequential Strategy of Intervention. A long-range intervention program may be viewed in terms of five stages. Although the program may be begun with benefit to the child at any age,[r] initiating appropriate intervention at earlier stages can be expected to yield cumulative gains.[r] Ideally intervention should not be interrupted (for then the gains achieved are gradually eroded[r]) and there should be continuity from one phase to the next.[1] During every stage the first requirement is to meet the family's basic needs as outlined above.[1] Thereafter, intervention is differentiated to accommodate the developmental level of both family and child as indicated below.

B. Stages of Intervention.

Stage I. Preparation for Parenthood.

Ideally, intervention begins before the family is formed when the future parents are still in school. This initial phase involves providing school children of both sexes practicum experiences in the care of the young.[1] In addition, attention is given to the health requirements of the future mother in terms of nutrition and preventive medical care.[1]

Stage II. Before Children Come.

The next critical point for intervention is after the family is formed but before any children are born. Here the initial emphasis is to insure adequate housing, health care, nutrition, and economic security before, during, and after pregnancy.[1] This is also the optimal period for introducing a parent intervention program with some experience with young children provided before the family's own offspring arrive on the scene.[1]

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[22] A more extended discussion of the rationale and nature of the foregoing proposals appears in Bronfenbrenner 1973.

Stage III. The First Three Years of Life.

During this period the primary objective is the establishment of an enduring emotional relationship between parent and infant involving frequent reciprocal interaction[r] around activities which are challenging to the child.[r] The effect of such interaction is to strengthen the bond between parent and child,[r] enhance motivation,[r] increase the frequency and power of contingent responses,[r] produce mutual adaptation in behavior,[r] and thereby improve the parent's effectiveness as a teacher for the child,[1] further the letter's learning,[r] and, in due course, establish a stable interpersonal system capable of fostering and sustaining the child's development in the future.[r] The development of such an enduring pattern of attachment and interaction can be facilitated through a parent intervention program involving the following elements.

1. The program includes frequent home visits in which parent and child are encouraged, by example and with the aid of appropriate materials, to engage in sustained patterns of verbal interaction around tasks which gradually increase in cognitive complexity as a function of the child's development.[r]
2. The parent devotes considerable periods of time to activities with the child similar to those introduced during the home visit.[r]
3. The role of the parent as the primary agent of intervention is given

priority, status, and support from the surrounding environment.[r]

4. The effectiveness and efficiency of parent intervention can be increased by extending activities so as to involve all the members of the family.[1] In this way the effects of vertical diffusion to younger siblings can be maximized[r] while older family members, including father, relatives, and older brothers and sisters, can participate as agents of intervention.[1] Such expansion, however, should not be allowed to impair the formation and uninterrupted activity of enduring one-to-one relationships so essential to the development of the young child.[1]

5. The effectiveness and efficiency of parent intervention can be enhanced through group meetings designed to provide information, to demonstrate materials and procedures, and to create situations in which the confidence and motivation of parents (and other family members) is reinforced through mutual support and a sense of common purpose.[r] Such meetings, however, must not be allowed to take precedence over home visits or the periods which the parent devotes to playing and working with the child.[r]

Stage IV. Ages Four through Six.

During this period, exposure to a cognitively oriented preschool curriculum becomes a potent force for accelerating the child's cognitive development,[r] but a strong parent intervention program is necessary to enhance and sustain the effects of the group experience.[r] This combined strategy involves the following features.

1. The effectiveness of preschool experience in a group setting is enhanced if it is preceded by a strong parent intervention program involving regular home visits.[r]

2. After preschool begins, the parent program must not be relegated to

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secondary status if it is to realize its potential in conserving and facilitating the effects of group intervention.[r] Both phases of the combined strategy should reinforce the parents' status as central in fostering the development of the child.[i] A program which places the parent in a subordinate role dependent on the expert is not likely to be effective in the long run.[r]

Stage V. Ages Six through Twelve.

Of especial importance for sustaining the child's learning in school is the involvement of parents in supporting at home the activities engaged in by the child at school and their participation in activities at school directly affecting their child.[i] The parent, however, need no longer be the child's principal teacher as at earlier stages. Rather he acts as a supporter of the child's learning both in and out of school, but continues to function, and to be identified by school personnel, as the primary figure responsible for the child's development as a person.[i]

Taken as a whole, the foregoing principles imply a major reorientation in the design of intervention programs and in the training of personnel to work in this area. In the past, such programs were primarily child-centered, age-segregated, time-bound, self-centered, and focused on the trained professional as the powerful and direct agent of intervention with the child. The results of this analysis point to approaches that are family-centered rather than child-centered, that cut across contexts rather than being confined to a single setting, that have continuity through time, and that utilize as the primary agents of socialization the child's own parents, other family members, adults and other children from the neighborhood in which he lives, school personnel, and other persons who are part of the child's enduring environment. It is beyond the

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scope of this paper to attempt to spell out the implication of this reorientation for the organization of services, delivery systems, and training. Many developments in the desired direction are already taking place. It is hoped that this analysis may accelerate the process of social change in the major institutions of our nation directly affecting the lives of young children and their families.

In concluding this analysis, we reemphasize the tentative nature of the conclusions and the narrowness of IQ and related measures as aspects of the total development of the child. We also wish to reaffirm a deep indebtedness to those who conducted the programs and researches on which this work is based. and a profound faith in the capacity of parents, of whatever background, to enable their children to develop into effective and happy human beings, once our society is willing to make conditions of life viable and humane for all its families.

Appendix B (1)

Policy Recommendation: Involvement of the Elderly in Educational Institutions

In order to combat alienation among the elderly and at the same time enhance the child's intergenerational relationships, elderly persons should be invited -- on a voluntary or paid basis -- to serve as foster grandparents in educational institutional serving young children and adolescents.

A recent treatment of the benefits of such a program by Robert Gray and Josephine Kasteler (1970) reports important successes. The particular program in question, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Administration on Aging in cooperation with the Office of Economic Opportunity, was established to employ needy elderly citizens "in a service role with institutionalized children up to 5 years of age who possibly could derive benefits from a relationship with an older person....The Program was organized to aid older persons by providing them not only with financial assistance, but with an experience that would help satisfy their basic need to belong, to be useful and to be loved, all of which are basic ingredients of good personal adjustment." (Gray and Kasteler, 1970, p. 181)

The persons involved in the project were between 60 and 75 years of age living on incomes of $1800 for single persons and $3000 for couples. A selection committee screened potential participants to arrive at final determination of both the eligibility and suitability of prospective Foster Grandparents. The program involved five days per week of half-day work sessions. Two questionaire techniques were used to assess the impact of the program on the attitudes and activities of the elderly participants. A control group of persons who had successfully completed the screening procedure but not been assigned to actually work as a Foster Grandparent was used to provide an experimental comparison with the effects of participation in the program. The questionaires included an instrument entitled "Your Activities and Attitudes" developed by Burgess, Cavan, Havighurts and Goldhamer (1949) to "measure personal and social adjustment of persons in later life." (Gray and Kasteler, 1970, p. 183) The "Neugarten, Havinghurst, and Tobin Life Satisfaction Rating Scale (1961) was also employed in the study. The two scales together are thought to provide a reliable index of the elderly person's personal and social adjustment and feelings of happiness and satisfaction with life.

The following table reports Gray and Kasteler's results of the comparison of participant -- i.e., experimental -- and control groups at the end of one year.

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Table A

A Comparison of the Personal and Social
Adjustment and the Life Satisfaction of
the Foster Grandparents and their Controls
(from[2] Gray and Kasteler, 1970)

	Experimental Group Percentage	Control Group Percentage
Total Activity Score		
Good or Average	100	74
Poor		
Total Attitude Score		
Good or Average	100	89
Poor	0	11
Total Personal and Social Adjustment Score		
Good or Average	100	61
Poor Adjustment	0	39
Life Satisfaction Rating		
High Satisfaction	77	57
Low Satisfaction	23	43

All the differences between experimental and control groups are statistically significant.

Because a comparison of the two groups prior to the start of the project has demonstrated no differences between them on these same variables it was concluded that participation in the program has enhanced the activity level, positive attitudes, personal and social adjustment and satisfaction with life of the Fostergrandparents.

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Appendix B (2)

Glidewell, Kanton, Smith and Stringer (1966) offer the following interpretations of the results of the Robbers Cave Experiment conducted by Sherif and associates:

> Sherif and associates (1961) proposed that, in the course of interaction oriented toward a common goal, definite group structures arise involving stable status hierarchies and group norms. They also found that the constructive or destructive nature of the between-group interactions was largely determined by whether the desired goals were available to only one subgroup (as the winner in competitive games) or to all subgroups (as a safe water supply). When the groups were working in competition toward a goal not available to all, the groups developed strong in-group loyalties and hostile intergroup interaction. When the groups were working in cooperation toward a superordinate goal available to all, they developed a friendly and helpful intergroup interaction. Applied to classrooms formed of subgroups, the implications are that a change in the goal orientation might be a more effective approach to modifying the classroom power structure than intervention to change the composition of the subgroups. (Glidewell, et.al., 1966, p.229)

The authors point to the research of Schmuck (1962a, 1963) which suggested the existence of two types of classroom structural organization -- central and diffuse. Centrally structured peer groups-- as defined by sociometric techniques in which the children are asked which of their peers they like -- are groups in which only a small group of the peers is designated as being liked by most students; some students are not mentioned by anyone as being liked. The diffusely structured groups have a more equal distribution of who is liked, there are many fewer distinct sub-groups of liking, and there are fewer entirely neglected or unliked individuals. The implications for student self-image, group and individual behavior and emotional climate are summarized by the authors thus:

> Diffusely structured peer groups were found to have a more positive and supportive emotional climate (Schmuck, 1962a). It was also found that pupils were more accurate in estimating their own status in the centrally structured groups and particularly the low-status children were more aware of their low status. The greater accuracy in the centrally

> structured classrooms was interpreted in terms of the clarity of status positions in such a structure and the absence of a general emotional support which might otherwise obscure a child's low status. The importance of these results is heightened by Schmuck's further findings that the perception that one has low status -- more than the fact of actually having such status -- was related to underutilization of intellectual abilities and to holding negative attitudes toward the self and the school. (Glidewell, et.al., 1966, p.229)

The authors present a table summarizing the relationships obtained in a number of studies among "Emotional Acceptance," "Perceived Competence," and "Perceived Social Power," in various samples of elementary school children. In each case the table presents the correlation between two variables controlling any relationship to the third -- i.e., the influence of the third variable on the relationship between the other two is removed therefore the correlations represent the simple and independent relations.

Estimated correlations between emotional acceptance, perceived social competence, and perceived social power (Glidewell, et. al., 1966, p. 230)

	Emotional Acceptance	Perceived Competence	Social Power
Emotional Acceptance	------	.40	.60
Perceived Competence		------	.30
Perceived Social Power			------

Appendix C

I. Materials from Barker and Gump's Big School, Small School:

1. Review of Research:

One of the investigators associated with Barker's group, Edwin Willems, conducted an extensive review of research dealing with the effects of group size upon behavior and attitude. This review considers two sorts of research, experimental studies in which the size of the group is manipulated by the experimenter and field studies in which actual functioning groups are examined. In the experimental laboratory studies groups are generally created by the experimenter and members are volunteers aware of the fact that they are part of some sort of psychological investigation. Therefore, such evidence is likely to carry the most weight when it can be related to evidence gathered in the "field" from "real life" situations. In the present case -- group size, that is -- there is a striking consistency between the results of the laboratory experimental studies and the field studies of real groups. This consistency lends credence to the conclusions of the research because it appears to be supported both by rigorous experimental investigations in which extraneous factors are controlled and by observations of real settings operating on a normal day-to-day basis.

A. Laboratory Studies: The major findings of the laboratory studies are that the smaller the size of the group the greater is the likelihood that positive effects will accrue to the members. These positive effects include greater participation, more "satisfaction" with the group, higher productivity in attempting tasks, greater responsibility, more positive feeling about other group members. It seems clear that the size of group directly effects the dynamics of its operation. As two reviewers of literature in this field have concluded, "As the group becomes progressively smaller, its identity seems to become increasingly dependent on maintaining each one of its members." (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959, p. 192) Several investigators have found that as the size of the group increases the members become less responsible, less active, less effective, less influential, less participatory, less positive about the group and other members, and less democratic. (Thibaut and Kelley, 1954; Bass and Norton, 1951; Bales and Borgatta, 1955 and Slater, 1958; all as reported by Willems, pp. 29-31)

B. Field Studies: The major findings of field studies investigating work groups and institutional settings parallel those obtained from laboratory experiments with artifically created groups. Small settings in comparison with large settings were found to be associated with higher morale (Worthy, 1955),* with greater meaningfulness of work and attraction to the organization (Worthy, 1950), with lower rates of personnel turnover (Cleland, 1955), greater satisfaction and group cohesion (Katz, 1949). In a review of British data on this subject, Revans (1958) found small groups to be associated with a wide range of benefits in comparison to large groups. These benefits included lower accident rates, greater recuperation from amputations -- in small compared with large hospitals -- and the rate of subscription to professional periodicals among coal mines and commercial employees. Wright (1961) found that children living in small v. large towns have more durable and intensive social interaction with adults and other persons in public places -- although children in large towns had access to more different behavior settings. The children from small towns experienced more in the way of reciprocal relationships than did the children from the large town. LeCompte and Barker (1960) found that the size of Rotary Clubs was negatively associated with attendance -- i.e., the larger the club the lower the rate of attendance.

*Note: All references found in Barker and Gump, 1964.

Several studies more directly related to school size have been reported by Willems and deserve some attention. Higher percentages of students in large schools than in medium or small schools reported that they engaged in no activities or only one activity, and that they experienced difficulty in gaining access to such activities (Larson, 1949). Among a sample of 2,500 high school graduates, Anderson, Ladd and Smith (1954) found a larger percentage of small school students reported that their participation in extra-curricula activities was "very valuable and useful" than among big school students. Isaacs (1953) reported that the rate of student drop-outs was higher in large as opposed to small schools (Barker and Gump, p.35)

C. Conclusions and General Principles: Willems offers a series of well-established differences between small and large "groups and other social, organizational and ecological units." These differences favoring smaller groups include:

1. less frequent absence
2. less quitting of jobs and positions
3. greater punctuality
4. more frequent participation when participation is voluntary
5. function in positions of responsibility and importance more frequently and in a wider range of activities
6. being more productive
7. demonstrating more leadership behavior
8. being more important to the groups and settings
9. having broader role conceptions
10. being more frequently involved in roles directly relevant to the group tasks
11. greater interest in the affairs of the group or organization
12. having greater individual participation in communication and social interaction, and less centralization of the communication around one or few persons

13. having more greetings and social interactions per person
14. facilitating communication, both through greater clarity and decreased difficulty
15. inducing greater group cohesiveness and more frequent liking of all fellow group members
16. generating greater ability to identify outstanding persons and higher agreement about such persons
17. receiving more "satisfaction"
18. speaking more often of participation having been valuable and useful
19. being more familiar with settings
20. reporting being more satisfied with payment schemes and with the results of discussion

This impressive list of differences favoring the small over the large group forms a basis for examining the program of research actually conducted in a group of Kansas high schools by Barker and his research team to examine closely the actual mechanisms and effects of school size as it relates to the behavior and personality development of the students.

The Sample:

Barker's group studied high schools which were chosen so that while they represented a wide range of size they were otherwise roughly equivalent -- i.e., they drew on the same kinds of students, were under uniform stage regulation, etc. Barker indicates his conclusions about this facet of the project thus:

> For our purposes, the essential features of the schools were a) they all conformed to the standards of the same educational authority (the State of Kansas); b) they all conformed to the mores of the same culture (eastern Kansas); c) nine of the thirteen schools served the total high school population of single communities; d) they varied greatly in enrollment, namely, from 35 to 2,287...These facts meant that we were able to investigate the relation between school size and other institutional characteristics across a number of schools that were otherwise remarkably similar. (Barker and Gump, p.44)

The following table presents the population characteristics of the schools:

School	School Enrollment	
Otan	35	199
Dorset	45	169
Walker	83	450
Malden	92	507
Meadow	113	served, several small communities
Midwest	117	781
Vernon	151	1,150
Haven	221	2,907
Eakins (served several communities)	339	551
Booth	438	3,004
University City	945	23,296
Shereton (several communities)	1,923	4,769
Capital City	2,287	101,155

As is clear from the table, the schools studied by the Barker group ranged from the tiny to the large. The smaller schools investigated are of only limited relevance for our concerns given the minimal role played by such schools in our area of interest -- particularly New York State. The middle size and large schools, however, do provide relevant contrast of concern to our analysis, as they do occur and can be made to occur through policy decisions.

Appendix D

Cogntive Consistency and Alienation:

It may prove helpful to our understanding of the relation of educational institutions to alienation to examine the theory and concepts of "cognitive consistency," as developed over the past thirty years by investigators in the field of social psychology. Such an examination may shed light on the kinds of psychological forces at work in the interactions between students and the adults and institutions of education. While there has been no effort made in previous research to apply to concepts and principles of cognitive consistency to the development of alientation, it seems reasonable to do so -- at least at the level of inference. Such a consideration can offer important insight into the processes by which disrupted patterns of behavioral interaction can lead to a "sense of estrangement, of not belonging," that is, alienation.

It is first necessary to describe the major aspects of the concepts and theory of cognitive consistency. To this end, we cite two recent and authoritive descriptions by Brehm and Cohen (1962) and Pepitone (1966).

> Cognitive dissonance, according to Festinger (1957), is a psychological tension having motivational characteristics. The theory of cognitive dissonance concerns itself with the conditions that arouse dissonance in an individual and with the ways in which dissonance can be reduced.
>
> The units of the theory are cognitive elements and the relationships between them. Cognitive elements or cognitions are "knowledges" or items of information, and they may pertain to oneself or to one's environment. Knowledge of one's feelings, behavior, and opinions as well as knowledge about the location of goal objects, how to get to them, what other people believe, and so forth, are examples of cognitive elements.
>
> The relation that exists between two elements is consonant if one implies the other in some psychological sense. Psychological implication may arise from cultural mores, pressure to be logical, behavioral commitment, past experience, and so on. What is meant by implication is that having a given cognition A, leads to having another given cognition, B. The detection of psychological implication is frequently possible by measurement of what else a person expects when he holds a given cognition.
> A dissonant relationship exists between two cognitive elements when a person possesses one which follows from the obverse of another that he possesses.

> Thus, if A implies B, then holding A and the obverse of B is dissonant. A person experiences dissonance, that is, a motivational tension, when he has cognitions among which there are one or more dissonant relationships. Cognitive elements that are neither dissonant nor consonant with each other are said to be irrelevant. The amount of dissonance associated with a given cognition is a function of the importance of that cognition and the one with which it is dissonant. The magnitude of dissonance is also a function of the ratio of dissonant to consonant cognitions, where each cognitive element is weighted for its importance to the person. As the number and/or importance of dissonant cognitions increases, relative to the number and/or importance of consonant cognitions, the magnitude of dissonance increases. In general, a person may reduce dissonance by decreasing the number and/or importance of dissonant elements compared to the consonant, or he may reduce the importance of all relemant elements together. It should be noted that propositions about the magnitude of dissonance can be tested without there being any actual reduction of dissonance, since a state of dissonance leads to attempts at dissonance reduction rather than necessarily successful reduction.
>
> How dissonance is reduced (or attempts at reduction are made) depends on the resistance of change of relevant cognitive elements. Those cognitions with relatively low resistance tend to change first. The resistance to change of a cognitive element comes from the extent to which such change would produce new dissonance and from some joint function of the responsiveness of the cognition to reality (what it represents) and the difficulty of changing the reality. Where the reality represented is ambiguous (e.g., a diffuse emotional reaction in oneself, a physical stimulus in the presence of considerable "noise," or the prediction of an uncertain future event), the cognitive element can be changed quite readily without any change in the reality. On the other hand, if the reality is quite clear, then the resistance to change of the corresponding cognitive elements will generally be proportional to the difficulty of changing the reality. How difficult it is to change a given aspect of reality varies all the way from extremely easy to essentially impossible....It should be noted, however, that where the reality is difficult or even impossible to change, the corresponding cognitive element could still be changed by making it nonveridical with reality, though by and large there appears to be an overwhelming pressure for a person to keep his cognitions veridical with reality.
>
> (Brehm and Cohen, 1962, pp.3-5)

> At the core of all consistency models is the postulate that individuals strive toward attaining consistency among cognitions of themselves -- for example, among cognitions of their beliefs and actions -- and consistency between cognitions of themselves and of objects or persons is their environment. Inconsistency results in discomfort and disturbance, and these properties enable us to put the core idea more concisely: Individuals strive to reduce tension in their cognitive structure. When expressed in this form the consistency postulate is no different from an idea that has played a central role in psychology of motivation and learning for many decades.
>
> (Pepitone, 1966, p.299)

In our discussion we shall not deal with the role of inconsistency as a positive motivation -- which is considered by Pepitone. Suffice it to say that it is recognized that 1) inconsistency may be tolerated and even sought as a means to achieve some greater more satisfying unification -- as in the case of making achievement demands on oneself; 2) inconsistency may be used as a coping strategy to "contain or to mask more chronic and painful conflicts that he has not been able to resolve through action"; 3) inconsistency may be integrated with consistency to generate interest, excitement, etc. (Pepitone, 1966, pp. 260-261) These cases are not within the field of our primary interest, however, which is to assess the manner in which processes of cognitive consistency may be seen as cognitively resolving the tension generated by disrupted relations between students and educational institutions.

Appendix E

Excerpt from W. Ciccione, "Googie and His Friends," program prospectus, 1972.

1. Feasibility Problem

The growing tendency to consider the nonprofessional and nonwhite-collar worker as a second-class citizen is detrimental to the well-being of the nation and in conflict with American principles.

"Googie and Friends" is about lives and activities of workers. The program is intended to place in proper perspective the significance of workers in our society. While all forms of work are with the program's province, emphasis is on skilled, semi-skilled, and manual labor.

"Googie and Friends" challenges common misconceptions about work in the hope that the next generation will be free from bias against those who are not professional or white-collar workers. This challenge can best be met at a time when a child has not yet been subjected to the myth that the only way he can achieve happiness and fulfillment is by becoming a doctor, a lawyer, a professional athlete, or a white-collar executive. This is not to say that the pursuit of these occupations should be neglected or disparaged. "Googie and Friends" only argues for a restoration of the balance within our culture for a proper valuing of the worker and his world. In short, we seek through the vehicle of "Googie and His Friends" an important step toward dignifying work. The program begins where other programs leave off. The message of educational programming must reach beyond the narrowly academic and touch the necessary humanizing functions of personality and social development. "Googie and His Friends" offers a new dimension to career education, one which has never been fully explored.

2. Related Research and Practice Experience

a) Education and Work--The Great Training Robbery

Ivar Berg, New York, Praeger 1970

b) Report to the President--White House Conference on Children U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1970

c) The Project director's teaching experience in the field of vocational education has given him an insight into the problem facing both the student and teacher in trying to create a positive attitude about work. Although his experience is limited to students at the junior-high level, with some work in special education classes, he has found a growing hostility, disenchantment, and a sense of rejection among the young.

When a class of forty or fifty students project an air of hostility toward their parents, their school, their teachers, and themselves, the relevance of their educational programs comes into question. Something is lacking. Either through oversight or disregard for the welfare of these children, little is being offered as an alternative to present forms of education.

Both parents and the school tend to push students toward academic goals. Yet, can every child achieve these goals? It is no wonder that we, as a society, are turning off many of our young.

More than 90 percent of the students filtering through vocational systems enter and leave that educational process believing they are little more than second-class citizens. That is not an attitude acquired at vocational school, it is one developed over the years in the academic world--a world in which it was impossible for these students to achieve. And since achieving is the essence of the academic world, it becomes clear there is no place in that system for the nonachiever. The areas of learning to which he can relate are not recognized as equivalent to those to which he cannot. He is told therefore (through his understanding of society's acceptable criteria for "best") that he is second best.

Attitudes toward the world of work have to be made more positive if we are to concern ourselves with the maximum development of each and every child. Children should be given an opportunity to become aware of the many alternatives to academic pursuits and the validity of such alternatives in helping them to develop into whole, happy adults.

Exposure at the earliest level, when children are at the preschool age, is the obvious point at which to begin developing more positive -- images of work. A child going through the learning process with this understanding will be better equipped to make a sound decision. And, should he decide for manual labor, he will be less defensive and apologetic about this decision.

3. Objectives

"Googie and His Friends" is a thirty-minute pilot television program aimed primarily at preschool and early elementary school children, but designed to have an impact on parents and older children. The program will present the activity as it exists in a neighborhood community. The show will focus on the dignity of work and the lives of workers. It is hoped that by such a presentation children will become more familiar with tools, equipment, and materials and will at the same time come to have a more positive and realistic impression of what it means to be a member of the labor force. The viewer will follow Googie and his friends as they meet people and visit places in the community.

Googie is a small boy (approximately nine-years old). Both he and his friends speak directly to the viewers and invite them to share their experiences -- during the course of the program and in their own communities. The program will emphasize the human qualities of Googie and his friends, their strong points as well as their weak ones. Their experiences with the world of work -- its people and equipment -- will foster a positive and informed impression on the part of the viewing audience.

Our intention is to simulate the world of the worker through the creation of a neighborhood community. Consideration will be given to characteristics of Googie and his friends which increase the likelihood that children viewing the program will understand and relate positively to the messages presented. Children from economically depressed backgrounds are most in need of the program. Such children would find it difficult to relate positively to a typical middle-class child. This is not to say that the program will be exclusively geared to children from depressed neighborhoods. Rather, Googie and his friends will represent a wide range of racial and ethnic groups. In this way it is hoped a maximal impact on the primary target groups can be achieved without sacrificing a broad-based appeal to children of all heritages.

"Googie and His Friends" should present a world which is realistic and thereby encourage attainable aspirations. This will contribute to the end of a pattern of fantasy and frustration among people who have, in the past, been subjected to media presentations which are mythical in their proportions and substance -- e.g., that all jobs are either of an upper middle-class variety or ones filled with adventure, the child will become a lawyer, doctor, or executive on the one hand, or a detective, athlete, or entertainer on the other.

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